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2. *To foster an appreciation and an understanding of the great buildings and architects of all historic cultures.*
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A QUARTET OF POMPEIAN PASTICHES

CURTIS DAHL

SHORTLY AFTER the excavation of Pompeii began in earnest about 1790, so-called Pompeian or "Etruscan" styles in architecture, interior decoration, and furniture swept across Europe and America. Everyone knows such examples of the fashion as Syon House near London (as redecorated by the Adam brothers) and Schliemann's home in Athens (which is now the Greek Supreme Court). Few people recall, however, that in addition to countless Pompeian rooms and Pompeian garden houses and fake Pompeian ruins, four serious attempts were made in four different countries to build a reproduction of a complete Pompeian villa. All four of these seem to owe something to the tremendous vogue of Bulwer-Lytton's *The Last Days of Pompeii*, which was published in 1834. Though all four obviously have much in common, each is interestingly shaped by the distinctive characteristics of the country in which it was built. Thus the history of these buildings and the differences between them make an amusing and revealing study.

The first of these modern Pompeian villas was to have been the private museum of an amateur archaeologist king. Not content with reproducing in Munich the Athenian Propylaeum and a host of Renaissance buildings, Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1842 began erecting a Pompejanum in his castle garden at Aschaffenburg. Here he intended to display the objets d'art and house-furnishings his excavators had dug up at Pompeii and elsewhere. Unfortunately, before his plan was completed, Ludwig was forced to abdicate because of the scandal of his affair with the dancer Lola Montez. As a result, with the exception of the kitchen, the rooms of the villa were never furnished. But the house itself was brought to completion about 1849 by the king's architect Friedrich von Gärtner, who was also responsible for a number of the pastiche buildings in the capital and for the rococo royal palace in Athens of Ludwig's son Otto I of Greece. Though it was severely damaged during World War II, the Pompejanum still stands and is the only one of the four villas to survive in approximately its original form.

Set high on a terraced ridge overlooking the winding River Main, the villa in its heyday was an imposing sight (Fig. 1). Modelled after the house in Pompeii variously known as the House of the Quaestor or the House of Castor and Pollux, it had the ground plan of a regular Roman town house. Here were the vestibule, porter's lodge, slaves' apartments, atrium, alae, tablinum, cubicula, and other apartments familiar to anyone who has visited Pompeii. In the triclinium, which was decorated with murals, was a mosaic given the king by Pope Gregory XVI. The viridarium was richly adorned with real and painted plants. Perhaps the most interesting room on the ground floor was the kitchen (which doubled as toilet) where stood ready as if for use a number of bronze and pottery kitchen utensils from the king's extensive collection.

But it was in the upper floors that von Gärtner had shown his imagination. Though his basic design was that of a city dwelling, he tried to adapt it to the needs of a villa standing alone in the country, and since most second floors of houses in Pompeii had been almost completely destroyed in the holocaust of 79 A.D., he had few restrictions. He therefore imagined a second floor appropriated to family apartments, especially to those of the women of the family. A large airy workroom opened on to a colonnaded balcony or pergola overlooking the viridarium (women, says the gallant old guidebook, being themselves blossom-like should be close to the flowers) and on to the roof terrace. This room was decorated with mosaic medallions designed by the local artist Karl Richard. Off the balcony were three cubicula colorfully adorned with murals imitated from Pompeii, and at its end was a large room or loggia with four big windows. From here an outside unrailed staircase led up to von Gärtner's most original addition of all—a one-room belvedere set like a top hat on the very summit of the building. However pleasant it may have been for King Ludwig to look across the grounds to his turreted castle and down on the old bridge over the Main, one questions whether a sober Roman builder (despite the fantastic architectural murals of Pompeii) would have so crowned his building. For a German pleasure-house of 1842, however, the idea was most appropriate.

The next Pompeian villa to be erected, though it was plentifully visited by royalty, was intended for the instruction of the general public. When in 1853 the great Crystal Palace was moved from London to Sydenham, various "courts" were added to show the architecture of different historical periods. The best of these was the Pompeian Court (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, this had at first been de-

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signed as the refreshment stand and when the idea to make it into an historical model occurred, the basic wall structure was already in place. Furthermore, the architect, Sir Digby Wyatt, was circumscribed by the structure of the Crystal Palace itself. As a result, though all essential aspects of a Roman house were incorporated, the proportions were odd (the cubicula were only six feet square; other rooms were far too large). Moreover, to accommodate the crowds of sightseers, doors had to be opened where no doors should have been. Despite these difficulties, however, the Pompeian Court was a great success. It taught more at a glance, contemporary accounts said, about what the archaeologists had discovered in Pompeii than anything else, even Pompeii itself, could possibly do.

Undoubtedly the most striking aspects of the Pompeian Court were its colors. Perhaps because it was modelled after no one Pompeian house but was a mélange of reproductions of parts of various houses, the decoration, carefully traced and painted by Signor Abbate, official royal artist at Pompeii, seems gaudy. The atrium, the *London Illustrated News* reported,

> is very richly decorated. The walls are divided into compartments by pilasters, and each compartment is painted for half the height of the room in a deep marron red, or a deep brilliant blue. These colours form a sort of frame, within which mythological subjects are painted—as, for instance, the "Release of Andromeda, by Perseus," and "Ceres sitting on a throne." These pictures are of no great artistic merit, but exact copies of pictures found in Pompeian houses. Above the deep colours and up to the ceiling, the ground is first lighter and then white, and enlivened by figures of dolphins, centaurs, dragons, birds, and cars drawn by leopards. The pilasters are coloured green, red, and yellow, at their base; the rest are white, with ornaments in yellow, except the capitals, which are adorned with a white and blue acanthus, on yellow and red. A series of gilt figures support the roof, which is white picked out with ornaments in red.

Many of the floors were of mosaic, some manufactured by the Minton company. The walls of the cubicula were ornamented by architectural designs in gold, yellow, and other colors on a black background. The fluted pillars of the tablinum were red below, white above, with capitals picked out by blue. Here Queen Victoria on November 2, 1853, in company with Prince Albert, the King of the Belgians and the Duchess of Brabant ate a sumptuous lunch in the still unfinished atrium and again with the King of Portugal officially opened the Crystal Palace on June 10, 1854. Though George Baxter's excellent print has preserved many of the colors, the spectacular burning of the Crystal Palace and all its contents on the night of November 30, 1936, effectively destroyed the original evidence. After some eighty years, however, even Signor Abbate's remarkably exact reproductions of Pompeian frescoes, which seem to have been the most admired feature of the Pompeian Court, had probably faded in the English atmosphere.

An entirely different spirit enlivened the Palais Pompéien built in Paris 1855–58 by Prince Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor Napoleon III (Figs. 3 and 4). This was intended primarily as a plaything, a place to live at intervals but even more a place in which to entertain. It was situated on Avenue Montagne right next to Prince Soltikoff's imitation feudal castle. There for a number of years it was the meeting place of the highly talented group of artists and writers who gathered around the Prince. Men of letters such as Théophile Gautier, Arsène Houssaye, and Sainte-Beuve there discussed literary topics late into the night with their connoisseur host. Indeed, Gautier's story of Pompeii, *Arria Marcella,* may possibly have helped inspire the Prince to build the house. While receptions at court were dull, everyone longed for an invitation to one of Prince Napoleon's unusual parties, at which guests and actresses from the Théâtre Français combined to put on in a perfectly adapted setting such plays as *La Femme de Diomède, Le Joueur de Flûte,* and *Le Moineau de Lesbie.* Houssaye wrote *Les Danseuses d'Herculaneum* especially for private performances there. Nowhere were beauty and genius so highly appreciated; nowhere was wit so brilliant.

The building which thus became the rendezvous of talented Paris was supposedly a reproduction of the House of Diomedes at Pompeii. But Alfred-Nicolas Normand, the architect, himself later an archaeologist, had had to make compromises. For one thing the lot was too narrow. For another the climate of Paris and the conventions of French living forced changes in the Roman plan. For instance, the atrium was glassed over to protect it from the weather, and little gate houses and a kind of portecochère-portico were added at the street front for the use of the concierges and the Prince's carriage-borne guests. The interior of the house, though it showed innumerable touches of French Empire taste, was a little closer to the original. However, the atrium was dominated by a large bust of the first Napoleon, while in the tablinum smaller busts of the other Bonapartes took the place of Lares and Penates. On the walls were allegorical paintings by Sébastien Cornu illustrating, in the current French version of the "Pompeian" style, the theogony of Hesiod. There was a library, unhistorically lighted by three large windows, which was lined with shelves for books and cabinets for medals and maps. A large lectern in the form of an eagle spread its gilt wings for the convenience of readers of heavy folios. A French clock on a pedestal stood on the mantel of a marble fireplace. The gayly decorated dining room also had a fireplace and was lighted both by a large bay window and by chandeliers fashioned of mythological figures. The doors were blond oak with bronze studs. Paintings of Homeric subjects by Gérôme adorned the salon, while the conservatory, complete with marble basin and fountain,

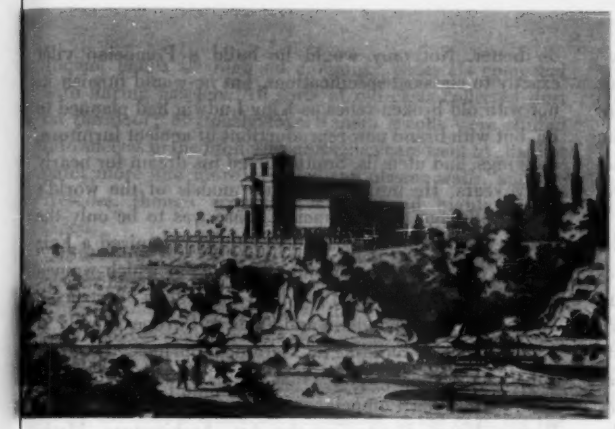

Fig. 1. Aschaffenburg. The Pompeian House.
(From the engraving by Karl Richard; M. J. Richard-Janillon, *Der pompejanische Bau . . .*, 1859, frontispiece)

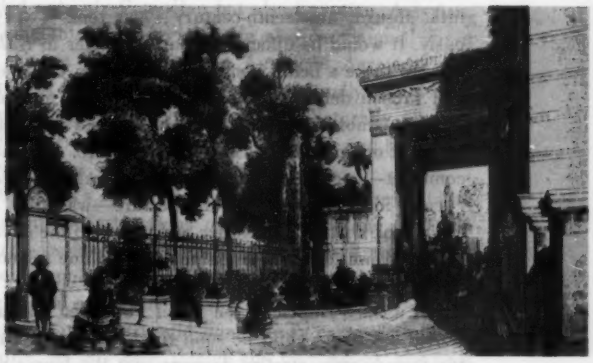

Fig. 4. Paris. Prince Napoleon's Palais Pompéien, the portico.
(From a steel engraving in *L'Illustration*, January, 1858)

g. 2. London. Pompeian Court of the Crystal Palace.
London Illustrated News, January 20, 1855)

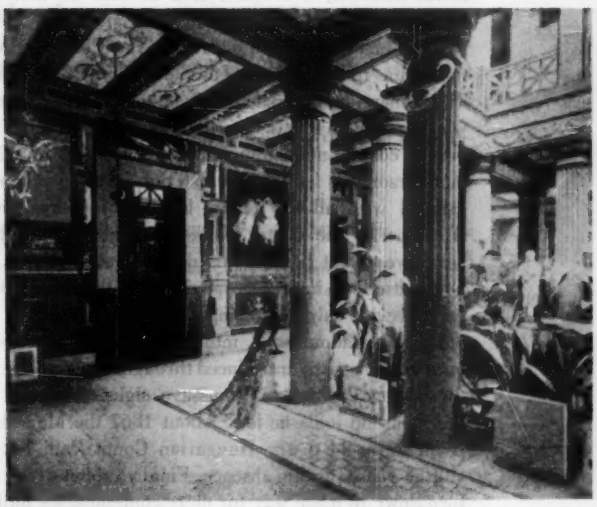

Fig. 5. Saratoga Springs. The Pompeia, the atrium.
([Franklin Webster Smith], *Catalogue . . .*, 1890, frontispiece)

Fig. 3. Paris. Prince Napoleon's Palais Pompéien, the atrium.
(From the engraving by Boulanger, "Repétition du Joueur de Flûte et de la Femme de Nicomede . . ."; [Théophile Gautier, Arsène Houssaye, and Charles Coligny], *Le Palais Pompéien*, 1866, frontispiece)

had as its chef-d'oeuvre a nude statue named "La Nyssia." What should have been a Roman tepidarium turned out to be a Turkish bath. Perhaps least classical of all were the bedrooms with their yellow and red canopies, lilac cabinets, and blue silk hangings. Throughout the house, indeed, most of the furnishings were frankly Empire. Though to the twentieth century the whole villa seems a little absurd, nineteenth-century Paris took it very seriously. It would be difficult, wrote a reporter in *L'Illustration*, to make a better compromise between Greek culture and French delicacy, between antique taste and modern comfort. Another looked on the house as a votive tribute to the Roman glory of the First Empire. Still another comment—one that interestingly reveals mid-century French ideas of classical architecture—was that in the guidebook written by Gautier and others to the effect that the house was "un traité d'archéologie d'une science profonde écrit en pierre et qu'on peut habiter."

For Prince Napoleon the Hôtel Pompéien was a plaything, and like a child he soon tired of his toy. One day his friends were startled to hear that the house was up for auction. Houssaye in his *Confessions* entertainingly tells the story of how a group of them—including Rothschild, Jules de Lesseps, the Marquis Costa de Beauregard, and Houssaye himself—banded together to purchase the villa and those of its furnishings which had real artistic merit. Suddenly a brilliant idea dawned on them: they would turn it into a museum and charge admission. At first the turnstile clicked merrily as Paris society crowded to see the famous house, but the fashion soon wore off. The owners then leased the house to a pair of promoters who planned to give concerts there. After offering to the press a costly Lucullan banquet during which four important personages fell into the fish pool, these gentlemen decamped with all the funds, leaving Houssaye and his friends with the debts. Houssaye himself lived there a whole year, but he took his delight not so much in the house itself as in a little pavilion at the bottom of the garden, with only a dressing room and a bedroom in the purest Pompadour style, into which fair visitors could be most circumspectly introduced through a private door from the street. That alone, Houssaye sighs, was well worth the thousand louis he lost. About 1867 the Maison Pompéien was sold to the Hungarian Count Palfi but could still be visited in his absence. Finally, about 1894, it was torn down to make way for more commonplace buildings.

In 1851 the imagination of one young American tourist had been lastingly fired by the various halls of the nations in the Great Exhibition in London, It was evidently inflamed even more by the Pompeian Court built two years later at Sydenham. For Franklin Webster Smith, hardware merchant of Boston, had been vouchsafed a vision that was to be lifelong. What a king or an imperial prince or a prince consort could do, an American business man could do better. Not only would he build a Pompeian villa exactly to classical specifications, but he would furnish it, not with old broken relics as King Ludwig had planned to do, but with brand new reproductions of ancient furniture, hangings, and utensils. Smith nursed his dream for nearly forty years. He built small scale models of the world's great buildings (the Pompeian house was to be only the first in a series of full-size models); he organized a Fair of the Nations for the Boston Y.M.C.A. at which women in costume sold imported goods in elaborately constructed booths; he travelled again and again to Europe. Finally in 1888 he began building at Saratoga Springs, the great American watering place that he had helped to make fashionable, his Pompeia or House of Pansa, "a Grand Roman House Illustrating the Art, Architecture, Mythology, Manners, and Customs of the Roman Empire" (Fig. 5). It was opened to the public at a reasonable entrance fee on August 12, 1889. Judging from the number of guidebooks printed, by June 1894, more than two hundred thousand people had visited the house. Somewhere around 1907, after Smith's various projects had been foreclosed, the now delapidated house was shut up. Later it became a Masonic Temple. What was left of the building after a disastrous fire in 1924 is now a Jewish community house.

Though Smith built the Pompeia partly to prove that concrete was a practicable material for the construction of houses, his brightly painted villa was made largely of stucco and plaster. Smith took great pains, however, to make it an accurate reproduction of what he considered the best known and most luxurious house in Pompeii, the House of Pansa. He himself made three trips to Pompeii to make exact measurements; he enlisted the aid of the best authorities at Pompeii and Naples; he commissioned artists to go from Paris to Italy to study and reproduce the murals; he had plaster casts made of the statues in the museum at Naples. He spared neither time nor money. In its way the result was impressive: this was the largest and most complete reproduction of a Pompeian villa ever constructed. Children especially were thrilled by it.

But though the measurements were accurate, though with the exception of the addition of a large picture gallery and the piercing through of a few windows the Roman plan was followed precisely, and though the only even partly imaginative feature of the building was a vine-shaded roof-top solarium, the general effect of the Pompeia as seen in pictures is of an American building of the 1880's. The furnishings and murals were the most striking things, but they were scattered everywhere in the too-profuse confusion characteristic of the interior decoration of the time. Plaster casts of statues stared from every nook; a fountain played in the impluvium; potted palms graced the viridarium or hortus; massive fake-marble tables supported imitation classical urns; braziers of ancient design gave little warmth to a bedraggled stuffed peacock. Models of

ancient lamps set high on columnar pedestals competed with flaring gas jets. All sorts of old casts collected dust on the floor; obviously fake Roman scrolls were stuffed into shelves in the bibliotheca. As the years went by, flaking paint more and more revealed the plaster walls, and the frescoes, though accurately copied and highly moral, faded.

But however cluttered and dusty the concrete-and-plaster building must have been, it had its vogue. Many an American attic must still have the little plaster mummies Smith sold as souvenirs in a shop in the villa. William Dean Howells in his novel *An Open-Eyed Conspiracy* amusedly mentions the Pompeia as one of the sights of Saratoga. Soon, his satiric character comments, if the rage for the antique continues, every summer cottage will be built in the Pompeian mode. Franklin W. Smith himself was memorably gratified, as he wrote, when "the young ladies of Vassar College, with their zealous professors, came for a day's study by a special train on the New York Central Railroad." During a convention at Saratoga Springs, certain sybaritic Presbyterians, wanting to learn how the Romans lived about the time of Christ, luxuriously ate a dinner as they reclined on couches in the triclinium. The National Education Society at its meeting in the city in July 1892, pronounced the Pompeia educational. The prominent Boston publishers Estes and Lauriat took pictures of it for use as illustrations in their deluxe large-paper edition of *The Last Days of Pompeii*. At another time social leaders of Saratoga with their children, in the interest of charity, improvised in the house amazingly uncomfortable and stiff tableaux of scenes from the novel. Even the atmosphere of the Pompeia could not lend conviction to a Bacchanalian procession all too obviously composed of callow youths and mature matrons of 1892. Confident of his success at Saratoga, however, Smith went on to seek larger and higher things. After building himself a Moorish Alhambra in St. Augustine, he constructed in 1899 the Halls of the Ancients in Washington, D.C., which included not only Pompeian but also Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian architecture. He also campaigned for a huge scheme for building an American Acropolis and Galleries of History and Art which eventually would have involved rebuilding much of the capital. Naturally, all these buildings were to be constructed of concrete and filled with plaster casts.

With Smith's House of Pansa the fashion for building permanent reconstructions of Pompeian villas seems to have run its course. Perhaps he had reached an ultimate that could not be passed. Perhaps it was inevitable that the vogue should end with an American whose wholly sincere educational purpose would humorlessly carry the idea to absurdity. At any rate, though the four houses are very different, they are all symptomatic of the imitative architecture of the period. They also amusingly characterize the countries in which they were built: heavy serious construction in Germany, formless lack of subtlety in England, chic Gallic sophistication, plaster-cast American culture. In addition, have we not in them the germ of a characteristic idea of our own age—the idea that has inspired the various furnished "houses" and rooms in numerous museums? Without these Pompeian villas would we be blessed today with Colonial Williamsburg and Sturbridge Village?

WHEATON COLLEGE

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

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THE BAROQUE REVIVAL IN QUEBEC

ALAN GOWANS

VICTORIAN ECLECTICISM appears to have had almost as much sense of direction as the styles of earlier, more settled centuries. This principle is particularly well illustrated by the Baroque Revival, or more properly perhaps the Late Italian Renaissance Revival, of the mid-nineteenth century in Quebec. On the surface, this movement appeared to complete the ruin of Quebec's traditional style which the Gothic Revival of the 1820's had begun; actually, neither the Baroque nor the Gothic Revival in Quebec was really alien in spirit to its traditional architecture, both were simply manifestations of that same spirit in forms suitable to nineteenth-century taste.

The history of the Baroque Revival in a curious way repeats the essential process whereby the Quebec tradition was originally formed. That tradition, as it developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, represented a fusion between "academic" and "craft" elements. On the one side were the "academic" ideas of men who were theoreticians and amateurs in architecture, and often clergymen such as Bishops Laval and Saint-Vallier, and Chaussegros de Léry; on the other was the practical adaptation of these ideas to the Quebec climate and resources by builders trained up in "craft" traditions—Claude Baillif, Jean Maillou—and local artisans of all sorts. It was in precisely this way that the Baroque Revival developed. Two clergymen—Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal and Father Félix Martin—and John Ostell, an English architect, provided the literary and theoretical ideas behind it; an artisan trained up in the native craft idiom, Victor Bourgeau, made the necessary adaptation of these ideas to the older Quebec tradition to give the new style its practical vitality.

The story begins in 1842 when Mgr. Bourget, a Canadian born at Lévis in 1799, became second Bishop of Montreal. Eager to embellish his new diocese with buildings suitably expressing its fast-growing wealth and population, the bishop looked about for a suitable advisor and discovered Félix Martin, a thirty-eight year old Jesuit from Brittany, who arrived in Montreal in May of 1842. They at once became and remained the closest of friends. By the standards of mid-nineteenth-century Quebec, Father Martin was exceptionally well informed on architectural matters; he had travelled and studied all over France and Spain and acquired a much more than dilettante command of archaeological scholarship.[1]

Father Martin's interest in architecture, however, was largely incidental. His basic turn of mind was antiquarian, showing a rather indiscriminate interest in old things simply because they were old.[2] Associative and romantic qualities in architecture, rather than practical problems of form and structure, concerned him most. But in Martin's case, this typically nineteenth-century attitude was precisely what made him such a key figure in the Baroque Revival of Quebec—for not only could he talk to Mgr. Bourget about architecture in terms the bishop could best appreciate, but his romantic interest in antiquities soon led from an earlier interest in Gothic to the older Québecois tradition.[3] Martin became a leading authority in this field and in turn brought Mgr. Bourget to an appreciation of it. And through the Québecois tradition Mgr. Bourget was prepared to move towards a revival of Baroque from original sources.

Two churches best illustrate Father Martin's eclectic interests, and their influence on Mgr. Bourget: St. Patrick's in Montreal, opened in 1847, and the parish church of Caughnawaga, completed in 1845. St. Patrick's, a large city church, was in "purest thirteenth century Gothic design,"[4] and famous as a model of Gothic throughout the province. Caughnawaga was a small parish church in what Martin considered Quebec's traditional style (Fig. 1).[5] In them, Martin presented Mgr. Bourget with an opportunity to consider the merits of two contrasting styles for the church architecture of his new diocese. By 1849, apparently, the bishop's mind had been made up. In that year a wing of the new Seminary of St. Sulpice and his new Episcopal Palace were both begun in Baroque,[6] and thenceforth Baroque was Mgr. Bourget's chosen style. It seems a sudden and somewhat surprising decision. What influenced the bishop's thinking? Records are lacking, but perhaps it is not too hard to reconstruct what happened.

The Gothic Revival, when it first appeared in Quebec in 1824 with Notre-Dame in Montreal, had many strong

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points in its favor.[7] By 1850, these were considerably diminished. O'Donnell's theatrical Gothic had much the same feeling as older Quebec churches of the Baroque tradition; Martin's "purest thirteenth-century Gothic" obviously had no roots in the country. The "Frenchness" of Gothic had been attractive in Quebec when France was monarchical and Catholic; after the French revolution of 1848, this was no longer an asset. O'Donnell's Notre-Dame had been pointed to as an example of truly Christian and Catholic building as opposed to Quebec's traditional style, allegedly derived from a "secular" and "pagan" Renaissance. By 1850, with English Protestants erecting Gothic churches all over the Province, the religious symbolism of Gothic was far less impressive to Mgr. Bourget.

On the other hand, although Martin's "revival" of the traditional Québecois style at Caughnawaga was a small building, it contained great hints of what might be done in this style. Basically, Mgr. Bourget wanted in his church architecture what the builders of Notre-Dame had wanted before him—a dramatic symbol of the Catholic Church of Quebec triumphant in the face of Protestant settlement in Montreal. Gothic no longer seemed to provide it. But the dramatic emphasis of the traditional concave Quebec roof-lines at Caughnawaga, the way Martin boldly projected the tower from the façade, the fact that no Protestant builders utilized the Quebec style—here infinitely impressive developments seemed possible. Best of all, as Jesuit Father Martin could easily point out to the bishop, the roots of the traditional Quebec style lay not so much in the "pagan" Renaissance as in the Baroque style of the Counter-Reformation. In short, if you wanted a style at once traditionally Canadian and dramatically Catholic, that style was no longer Gothic, it was Baroque.

But not necessarily the native Baroque of Quebec. On this point Mgr. Bourget followed typically nineteenth-century logic: once decided upon Baroque, he would not be content with any provincial variants, but only with the "pure" or "original" style of sixteenth-century Italy. However—and fortunately, as it proved—the bishop could not go so far all at once; circumstances forced the Baroque Revival in Quebec to go through a "native revival" stage first. For Father Martin, after his first few years of active interest in architecture, became increasingly preoccupied with antiquarian and historical research,[8] and the first two men Mgr. Bourget found to replace him lacked both the interest and the competence to reproduce the Baroque style of Italy. Their contribution was instead to build upon the Baroque tradition of Quebec, and it was a vastly more important contribution in the long run.

The first of Martin's successors was John Ostell. Born and trained in England, Ostell came to Montreal at an early age.[9] He superintended the completion of Notre-Dame and in the 1840's was considered the leading architect around Montreal. It was Ostell who drew up Mgr. Bourget's Baroque plans for the Seminary and the Episcopal Palace (after his earlier Gothic ones had been vetoed); but his greatest significance to the Baroque Revival came in two churches begun in 1850 and finished in 1851, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (Fig. 2) in Montreal, and the façade of the parish church of Sault-au-Récollet. For like Caughnawaga, both these designs are based—consciously, I think—on prototypes in the Quebec tradition.

The Jesuit-type façade of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce first appeared in the Province in 1722, with Chaussegros de Léry's design for the façade of old Notre-Dame in Montreal, and there are several later examples of it in Quebec under the old régime. The Sault-au-Récollet façade goes back ultimately to the same source, in all probability, but owes

FIG. 1. Caughnawaga. Parish Church. Completed 1845. Félix Martin, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art, courtesy Gérard Morisset, director, Musée de la Province de Québec)

FIG. 2. Montreal. Church of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce. Completed 1851. John Ostell, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)

its direct inspiration to Thomas Baillairgé's nearby church of Ste.-Geneviève, Pierrefonds—and no one worked more profoundly in the Quebec tradition than Baillairgé.[10] However, in Ostell's work there is less of the Quebec tradition and more direct drawing upon European sources than in these earlier prototypes. The Notre-Dame-de-Grâce façade is typically French Baroque and it is very probable that Félix Martin had a hand in it. Sault-au-Récollet, particularly in the details, strongly suggests Gibbs or Vanbrugh in England. To this extent, Ostell's two churches represent a step forward in the Baroque Revival in Quebec but not the final step. In them, Ostell only suggested what could be done with Baroque monumentality in the traditional Quebec style, but Ostell, an English Protestant, was not the man to do it. By training and outlook he could never be too sympathetic with Mgr. Bourget's architectural ideals. Although Ostell continued on as official diocesan architect until 1858,[11] as early as 1853 he was superseded as the real leader of architecture in Montreal, and of the Baroque Revival, by a man his opposite in every way. This newcomer was Victor Bourgeau, a native Canadian, self-trained, and capable of making neo-Baroque principles a living force in the Quebec tradition.

Victor Bourgeau was a native of Lavaltrie near Montreal; his only formal education was a traditional Québecois apprenticeship with the Quévillon atelier.[12] Entirely through astute study of books and imitation of what was going on around him, he raised himself to the status of an architect; his first really important commission came in 1851 for the church of St.-Pierre in Montreal. Like all his early work, this was a Gothic design, but in the course of it he evidently came into contact with Mgr. Bourget and Father Martin, perceived how the stylistic wind was blowing, and set himself to study Baroque. The first result of this effort was the church of Ste.-Rose (Île-Jésus) begun in 1852 and finished in 1855 (Fig. 3). Its overall plan and particularly its façade are rather clumsy copyings of the church of Sault-au-Récollet and Baillairgé's Ste.-Geneviève, Pierrefonds, and show little ability beyond that capacity for learning which was Bourgeau's chief asset. But the church brought Bourgeau to Mgr. Bourget's attention at a peculiarly appropriate time, for it was while Ste.-Rose was under construction that the bishop finally decided upon his Grand Plan, which thenceforth became the leading theme of the Baroque Revival in Quebec.

In July of 1854 a spectacular fire completely destroyed

FIG. 3. Ste.-Rose (Île-Jésus). Parish church, 1852–55. Victor Bourgeau, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)

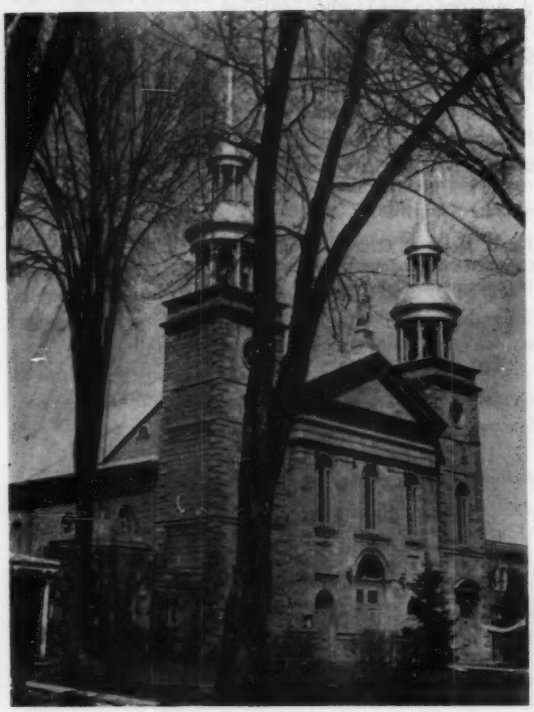
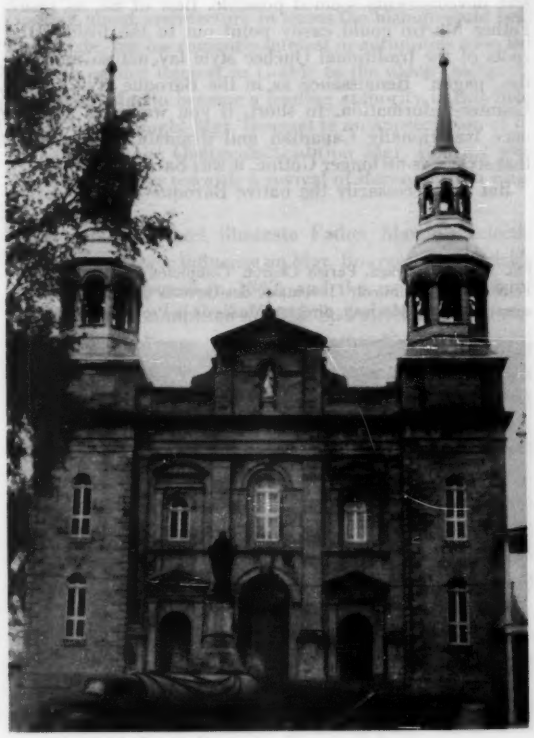


FIG. 4. L'Assumption. Parish church. Designed 1859, built 1863–65. Victor Bourgeau, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)



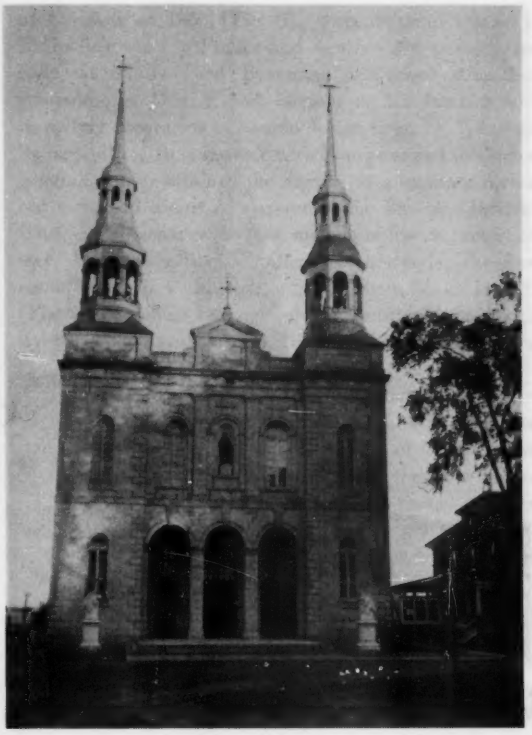


Fig. 5. St.-Barthélémy (Berthier). Parish church, 1866–67. Victor Bourgeau, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)

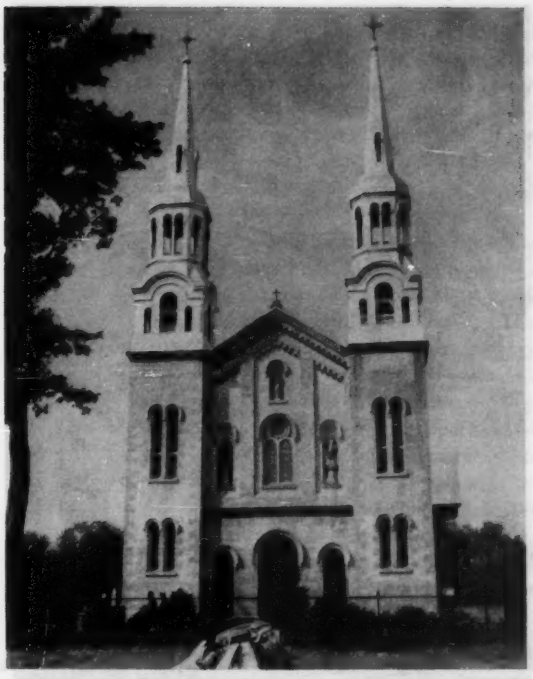


Fig. 6. Lavaltrie. Parish church. Designed 1868. Victor Bourgeau, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)

the St.-Laurent quarter of Montreal and along with it Mgr. Bourget's Episcopal Palace and cathedral. Two months later the bishop announced, to the general surprise, that the new cathedral would be built in the western part of the city near the new railroad station (now Windsor Station) ". . . fearing that this fine and rich quarter would become entirely Protestant, he wished to affirm there the glory and fecundity of the Catholic church."[13] He announced its architectural style some months later but in 1849 he had approved designs for his Episcopal Palace by John Ostell which called for a dome inspired by St. Peter's in Rome,[14] and a trip to Europe begun in August 1854 only confirmed his intention. "Mgr. Bourget visited several churches, but St. Peter's in Rome inspired him so profoundly and vividly that . . . he conceived the audacious project of reproducing Michelangelo's masterpiece of genius. . . . He communicated his enthusiasm to others."[15] From 1854 on, then, the Baroque Revival in Quebec was in view of its ultimate objective: establishing Italian sixteenth-century Baroque in the Province.[16]

At first there was general approval of the bishop's idea and Victor Bourgeau's enthusiasm was particularly conspicuous. In 1855 Bourgeau added to the essentially traditional church of Laprairie a new sort of clocher, a miniature copy of the dome Ostell had designed for Mgr. Bourget's destroyed Episcopal Palace, which distant copy of St. Peter's was as close as he could get to the original.[17] And the following year he was one of the founding members of the Académie des Beaux-Arts in Montreal, the principal study of which appears at first to have been Italian Renaissance art and architecture.[18] All this was not lost on Mgr. Bourget; he determined to encourage a native architect whose ideals were so evidently close to his own. Thus we read without surprise in the *Courrier du Canada* for February 20, 1857, that "Mr. Victor Bourgeau left last Monday on the *City of Baltimore* for Le Havre. The object of his voyage is to visit and study the principal monuments of Rome, especially the Basilica of St. Peter's, on the model of which the new cathedral of Montreal will be built."

Bourgeau's reaction was quite unexpected. He stayed only eight days in Rome and then returned home "very angry. How could Mgr. Bourget imagine reducing such a church to small scale? He advised strongly against it."[19] It was a most significant reaction for the history of nineteenth-century architecture in Quebec. Mgr. Bourget was not the sort of man to be discouraged from his set purpose, neither, apparently, was Victor Bourgeau. From this point we find the Baroque Revival in Quebec going two ways: in the direction of simple imitation of Italian

FIG. 7. Lavaltrie. Parish church, interior. Designed 1868–69; late 19th-century reworking. Victor Bourgeau, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)

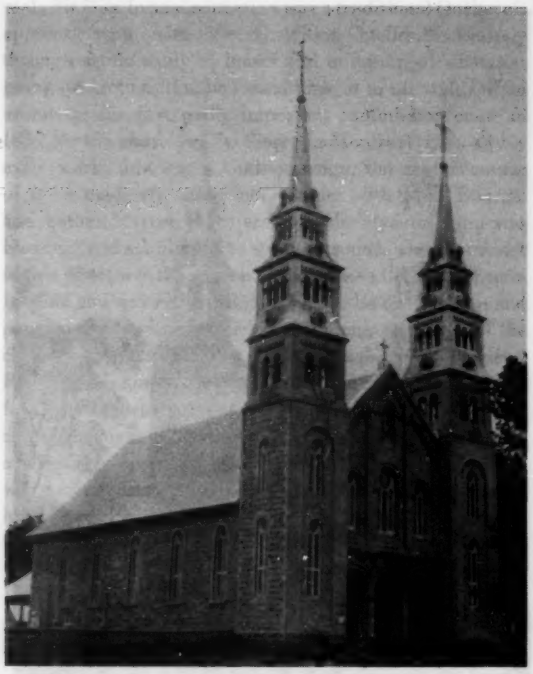


FIG. 8. St.-Cuthbert. Parish church, 1875–79. Victor Bourgeau, architect. (Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art)

Baroque, led by the Bishop of Montreal, and in the direction of selective adaptation of Baroque principles to the Quebec tradition, led by Bourgeau.

Bourgeau's position, evidently, was based on a sense of appropriateness. All his personal eclecticism and the spirit of his age were not enough to deaden the feeling for proper proportion and the fitness of things which was the heritage of his training in the older tradition of the province. He had caught enough of Mgr. Bourget's vision to see Baroque as a fit vehicle for the Québecois tradition in the nineteenth century; he was enough of an artist, however, to realize that Baroque could be creatively used in the province only if it were adapted to the tradition, and not imported wholesale. The rest of his life was devoted to a demonstration of how this might be possible, and his demonstrations fixed the character of Québecois architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century as Thomas Baillairgé had fixed it in the first half.

Of the very large number of churches built by Bourgeau between his return from Rome and his death in 1888 it will be useful to touch on only a few to indicate the general line of his development. It begins with his design for the church of L'Assomption in 1859 (constructed 1863–1865).[20] Here the influence of Bourgeau's trip to Rome is clearly to be seen in a definite suggestion of the façade of St. Peters (Fig. 4). But L'Assomption is no simple imitation; rather, it is the old twin-towered tradition of the Montreal area to which intensified Baroque elements have given (as Bourgeau and his contemporaries would say) a dramatic Catholic symbolism appropriate to nineteenth-century Quebec. Revived Baroque as the symbol of Québecois Catholicism is better handled, however, in St.-Barthélémy, Berthier, built in the years 1866–1867[21] (Fig. 5). St.-Barthélémy is an interesting stylistic phenomenon; actually, it is the 1824 Gothic façade of Notre-Dame in Montreal metamorphosed into Baroque—the same triple-arched portico, niches, twin towers, and dramatic verticality, all transformed into the more "Catholic" style.

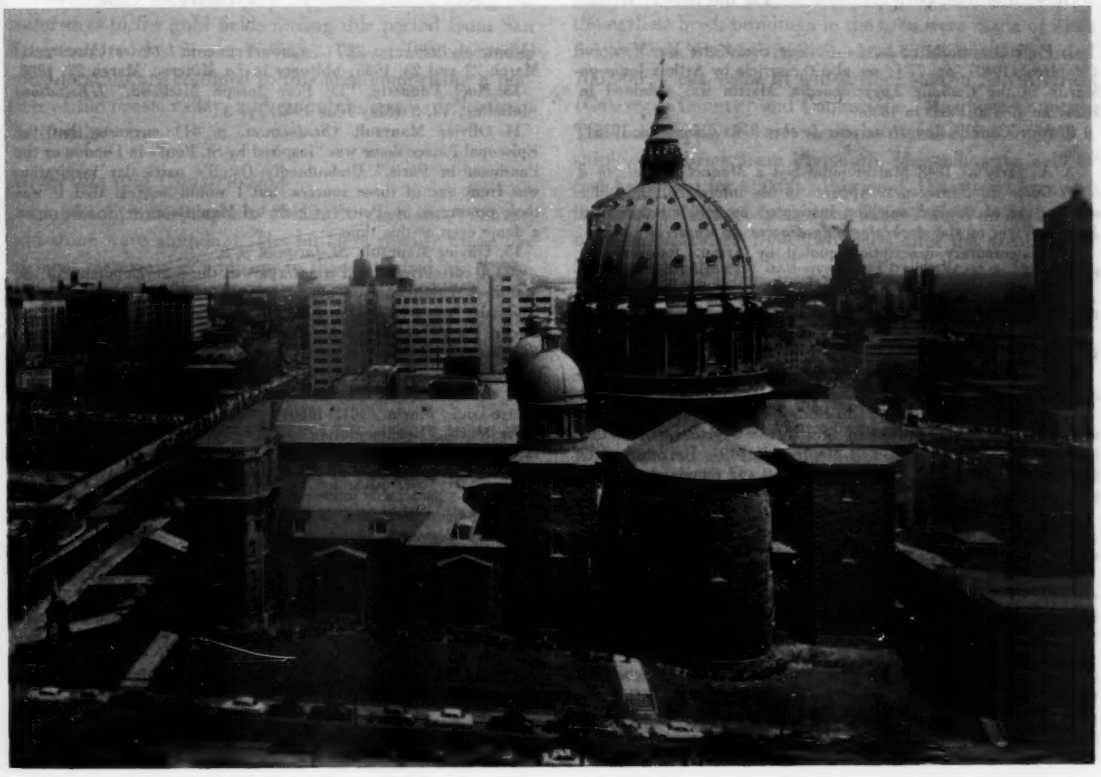
From this point, Bourgeau became attracted by the Romanesque style which was becoming popular in France and the United States. This was perhaps inevitable when working in a style which emphasized heavy stonework, round-headed windows and fairly simple shapes (as contrasted with Gothic). From exactly what source Bourgeau's knowledge of Romanesque came is difficult to determine. In its first appearance, however, in his home parish church

of Lavaltrie in 1868 (Fig. 6), it seems more related to L'Abadie's work in France and significantly, perhaps, the style was usually called "Byzantine" in Quebec rather than Romanesque. This is most obvious on the interior with its ceiling decoration of pseudo-domes (Fig. 7). Whatever its inspiration, Romanesque with Bourgeau and in Quebec generally never attained the dignity of a separate revival but remained a sort of variant of the Baroque Revival. Bourgeau's Romanesque soon melted, in his characteristic way, into the earlier ingredients of his style; the final result is seen in a church like St.-Cuthbert, begun in 1875 (Fig. 8), in which elements of the traditional Québecois style, Italian Baroque, and Romanesque are blended indiscriminately.

The style so established, whatever its faults, had at least the merit of consistency, and was, I think, a good expression of Québecois culture in the last half of the Victorian era. It remained the dominant style of the Province of Quebec for the next sixty years, and the reason was precisely that it represented no real break with the province's native tradition. Carried on by David Ouellet and Ferdinand Peachy in the Quebec City region and by numerous local builders everywhere, Bourgeau's style remained essentially Québecois. His churches were the embodiment of nineteenth-century taste for the picturesque and irregular, to be sure, but were still recognizably characteristic of Quebec in a way that Gothic churches, even Notre-Dame, were not. In that sense, Bourgeau's handling of the Baroque Revival made it a living movement—particularly by contrast with the last phase of the Revival under Mgr. Bourget.

After Victor Bourgeau's denunciation of his Grand Plan for the cathedral of Montreal, Bishop Bourget dropped it temporarily—but only temporarily—until a more propitious time and a more amenable man should appear. That time came in 1868, when the pope was besieged in Rome by the armies of the new state of Italy and called for volunteers to defend him. An instant response came from the Province of Quebec, where a company of Papal Zouaves was recruited and sent off to Rome. In the general enthusiasm, the bishop again suggested that a replica of St. Peter's would be a suitable symbol of Quebec's loyalty to the Holy See, and this time he carried the day easily. He took no chances on his architect this time; Joseph Michaud, a Canadian member of the Brothers of Saint-Viateur with some slight architectural experience, was com-

Fig. 9. Montreal. Cathedral, looking east. Completed 1885. (Associated Commercial Photographers, Inc., Westmount, Quebec)



missioned as chaplain to the Zouaves and instructed to prepare plans for reproducing St. Peter's while in Rome.[22] Preliminary work was commenced immediately, and as soon as Michaud returned from Rome after an eighteen-months stay, actual construction began. Since Michaud's practical knowledge of building was limited, Victor Bourgeau was called upon to assist him with technical details—a commission undertaken, we gather with no surprise, somewhat reluctantly. A model was prepared and plans drawn to the minutest detail; in 1885 the building stood completed (Fig. 9).

Bishop Bourget died on June 8, 1885, in what then seemed the hour of his greatest triumph. Even before the cathedral was entirely finished, the rush to imitate it began. Of the host of heavy-handed designers in Italian Baroque we need mention only a few: Abbé Hercule Dorion, whose "Roman basilica" and crypt for the body of St. Eutychianus imported from Rome was begun at Yamachiche in 1873; Edouard Meloche, who added the famous "wedding cake" to the old church of Bonsecours in Montreal in 1885; Georges Tanguay who adapted the façade of S. Giovanni in Laterano to the old church of St.-Thomas, Montmagny, in 1889; and, of course, Joseph Michaud himself, who almost literally dotted the Montreal and Trois-Rivières region with variations on the Roman Baroque theme.

Of such works, perhaps the less said the better. It was an uninspiring finale to the Baroque Revival proper; nevertheless there was some lasting significance to the movement which should be noted. On the narrower local plane the Baroque Revival provided the vehicle for the survival of the architectural tradition of Quebec through the eclecticism of the nineteenth century. Through it, that tradition passed on into the twentieth century and gives modern church architecture in the province its peculiar vitality.[23] It has several aspects of universal significance as well, I think. It can provide certain important insights into the nature of what we call the "tradition" of a country—how a given set of tastes, predispositions, find expression despite all waves of outside influences and ideas. Most basically it points up some often-overlooked aspects of the basic process of artistic creation. For whatever real stylistic vitality the Baroque Revival had was due to a creative cooperation between practice and theory—that is, Mgr. Bourget's ideas raised the native builder Victor Bourgeau to the status of a creative architect while, conversely, Bourgeau's practical building gave Mgr. Bourget's ideas their only creative embodiment. When theory and practice parted company, as they did in the later Baroque Revival in Quebec, the result was sterility. It is, in short, a demonstration of which every age needs to be reminded.

FLEMING MUSEUM
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

1. Paul Desjardins, S.J., *Le Collège Ste.-Marie de Montréal* (Montreal, 1940), pp. 77 f; see also the article by Arthur Jones on Martin in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia.* Martin was ordained in 1824; he died at Paris in 1886.

2. Mgr. Camille Roy, *Historiens de chez nous* (Montreal, 1935), p. 36.

3. As early as 1848 Martin published a *Manuel du pèlerin à Notre-Dame de Bonsecours.* Apparently his interest in the older architecture of Quebec was first instigated by collaboration with Jacques Viger on the *Archéologie du diocèse de Montréal.*

4. Contemporary description quoted by Arthur Jones in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia.*

5. On the church, see E. J. Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga* (Montreal, 1922), pp. 386 f., Photos pp. 304, 320.

6. See Olivier Maurault, *St.-Jacques de Montréal* (Montreal, 1923), pp. 39 f., and Pl. 41.

7. See the author's "Notre-Dame de Montréal," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* XI, 1 (March 1952), pp. 20–26.

8. In 1857 Martin was sent to France to search out documents to replace archives destroyed by fires in the Legislative Assembly libraries at Quebec (1855) and Montreal (1849). He returned to Canada in 1858 but left for France in 1860 and remained until his death in 1886.

9. Olivier Maurault, *La Paroisse* (Montreal, 1923), pp. 97 f., and *Marges d'Histoire* (Montreal, 1929), pp. 213 f. Ostell died in Montreal in 1892; an informative obituary is in *La Minerve,* April 7, 1892.

10. For illustrations of Chaussegros de Léry's and Baillairgé's designs, see "Thomas Baillairgé and the Québecois Tradition of Church Architecture," *Art Bulletin,* XXXIV, 2 (June 1952), pp. 117 f.

11. Ostell's last project was a rebuilding of St.-Jacques after the fire of 1857; the nearly-completed work was destroyed a second time in 1858, and Ostell's commission was not renewed. He left the profession of architecture to become a wood merchant and manufacturer until his death in 1892.

12. For biographies of Bourgeau, see Olivier Maurault, *La Paroisse* (Montreal, 1929), pp. 220 f.; Emile Venne, in *L'Ordre* (Montreal), March 22 and 23, 1935; obituary in *La Minerve,* March 22, 1888.

13. Noël Paquette, "Le Père Joseph Michaud," *L'Estudiant* (Joliette), VI, 5 (May-June 1942), p. 3.

14. Olivier Maurault (*St.-Jacques,* p. 41) suggests that the Episcopal Palace dome was "inspired by St. Paul's in London or the Pantheon in Paris." Undoubtedly Ostell's particular inspiration was from one of these sources, but I would suggest that it was their prototype, St. Peter's, which led Mgr. Bourget to insist upon a dome even at this time.

15. Olivier Maurault, *St.-Jacques,* p. 8.

16. A curiously related counterpart of these developments of the Montreal region appears near Quebec City in the church of St.-Romuald, begun in 1855 and finished in 1856 under the inspiration of curé Pierre Sax. See Benjamin Demers, *Histoire de la paroisse de St.-Romuald de l'Etchemin* (Quebec, 1906) and Benjamin Demers, *La famille Demers* (Lévis, 1905), esp. Appendix H.

17. The church of Laprairie was begun in 1843 on the plans of Pierre-Louis Morin (1811–1886), possibly with the assistance of Félix Martin. Documentation in l'Inventaire des Oeuvres d'Art de la Province de Québec.

18. The real founder of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, and indirectly a considerable influence on the Baroque Revival in Quebec, was Napoléon Bourassa. See Omar Héroux, "Le Centenaire de Napoléon Bourassa," *Le Devoir* (Montreal), September 21, 1928.

19. Emile Venne, in *L'Ordre, loc. cit.*

20. Olivier Maurault, *Marges d'Histoire: Montréal,* p. 223; *Livre de Comptes de la Fabrique de l'Assomption,* 1859, 1863, 1864, 1865.

21. Ramsay Traquair, *McGill University Publications,* Series XIII, No. 19; *Livre de Déliberations de la Fabrique de Saint-Barthélémy,* I, 1867–85.

22. On Michaud, see Noël Paquette, *op. cit.*; P. N. Breton, *Illustrée des Monnaies et Jetons du Canada* (Montreal, 1894), pp. 22 f.

23. See further "The Marial Chapel at Lac Bouchette," *Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada,* XXX (1953), pp. 6 f.

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL IN CALIFORNIA, 1850-1890

LYIE F. PERUSSE

Introduction

The Gothic Revival flourished in California during the period following the discovery of gold through the decades subsequent to the opening of the transcontinental railroad. Internal and external evidence of the monuments considered dates them between 1850 and 1890.[1] From the Golden Gate to the gold fields adventurous gold seekers, powerful ranchmen, enterprising merchants, and zealous churchmen built in the pointed style. It was but one of the styles chosen, however, for the architecture of the period could be regarded as a cavalcade of American architecture in microcosm.

Towns were located from the coast inland along the waterways to the gold fields during this period from San Francisco to the Sierra Nevada. The structures under consideration are confined to this area comprising a portion of the coast, valley, and mountain areas of Northern California.

Materials and Construction

Stands of timber, deposits of lateritic clays, lime mortar, and stone were abundant. The builders readily made use of local materials in addition to those shipped in. A contemporary advertisement in a San Francisco newspaper listed lumber for sale within a few weeks after the discovery of gold.[2]

Frame Construction

Some large-scale structures were built with mortise and tenon framing, others balloon, and some were even prefabricated. The Mariposa County Courthouse (1854) was built of lumber whipsawed from neighboring forests and fitted together with mortise and tenon joints held together with wooden pegs.[3] Balloon framing, considered by architectural writers of the nineteenth century as the most important single contribution to domestic architecture, was used after the first quarter of the nineteenth century and tended to replace the older method of framing.

Several frame structures have been referred to as prefabricated in the East and "shipped 'round the Horn" and assembled in the West.[4] The early Presbyterians of San Francisco met for a while in the city hall until their own wooden church of Gothic Revival design arrived "planned and sawed and planed and chiselled in the East, and shipped by sailing vessel around Cape Horn."[5]

Brick Manufacture and Construction

A few towns located where good lateritic clays were available became centers of brick manufacture. The first brick was manufactured in upper California in 1847 at the kiln of G. Zins in Sutterville, just south of Sacramento. In 1847 Zins burned 40,000 bricks and in 1848 his yard produced 100,000 bricks. It seems probable that some of the earliest brick buildings in the area were made of Zin's bricks. Doak's brickyard in Stockton in 1850 manufactured 700,000 bricks, some of which were sold in San Andreas (Calaveras County) and Coulterville (Mariposa County). The local supply did not meet the demand, for in 1849 a shipload of brick from Plymouth, Massachusetts, sold in San Francisco for $60.00 a thousand. Disastrous fires and the brick building boom of the fifties forced an expansion of the industry. In 1854, two years after the great fire in Sacramento, the city had over 500 brick houses. Less than a year after the Nevada City (Nevada County) fire of 1856, twenty-five fireproof structures had been erected there. These examples illustrate the trend toward fireproof construction.[6]

Good quality of lime for mortar was found locally and manufactured in Tuolumne and Placer Counties. That manufactured at Columbia was satisfactory even when mixed with sand having a fair percentage of clay.[7] About 1853, John R. Gwynn discovered a ledge of lime rock about a mile above the town of Auburn, established a limekiln and produced quantities of lime. This lime was used throughout the northern part of the state, and all the masonry structures in that part of the state were supplied with lime produced there. The business was sold to H. T. Holmes, who for the next thirty years furnished practically all of the lime for the masonry structures in the northern part of the state.[8] One of the largest deposits of hydraulic limestone was found in a range of hills back of Benicia in

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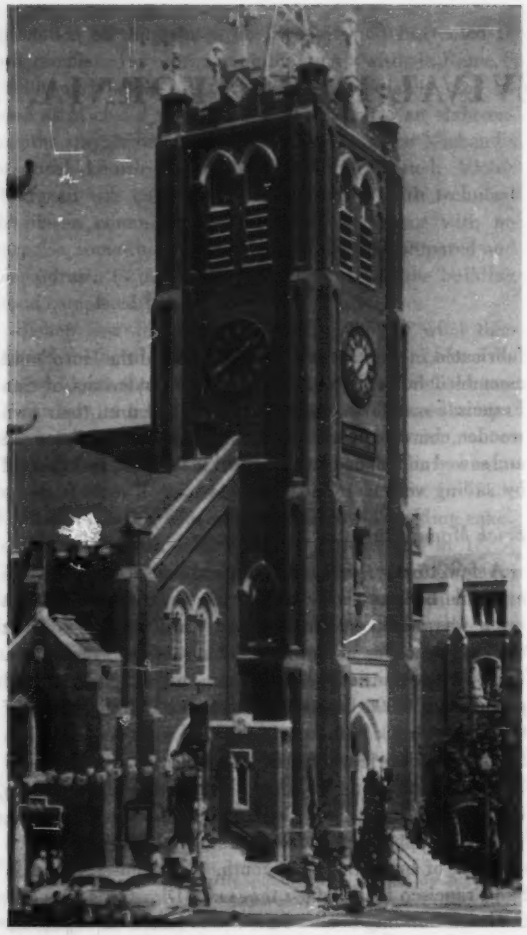


FIG. 1. San Francisco. Old St. Mary's Church. Designed 1853. (Lawrence M. Finigan)

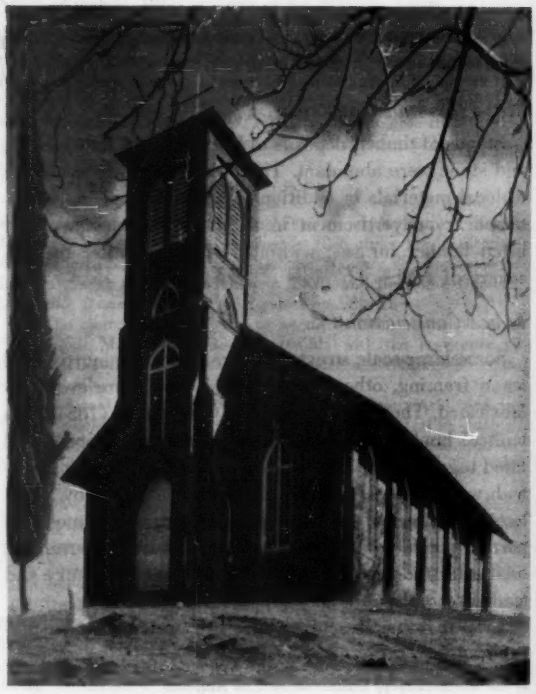
Solano County. Benicia cement was manufactured there as a company was incorporated in 1860 for working the deposit. The product was used in the construction of the sea wall in San Francisco harbor[9] and the former city hall in San Francisco as well.[10] The specifications of the Moss cottage in Oakland state that the mortar for the foundations and earthwork was to be composed of lime and best Benicia cement.[11]

Brick was used throughout the area as soon as it became more plentiful for residences, stores, churches, and public buildings. An examination of several extant brick structures showed brick walls laid in stretcher courses with a header course every sixth or seventh course as in St. Mary's Church in San Francisco (Fig. 1) and St. Anne's Church in Columbia (Fig. 2). Brick was often covered with painted stucco as in St. Patrick's Church in Sonora and St. Patrick's Church in Placerville. In the Moss cottage (Fig. 6) brick was used for foundations, piers, chimneys, and fireplaces. The outer walls were built of brick laid with nogs, the brick laid flat in the principal story and laid on edge in the second story and the whole covered with sheathing.[12] Brick for foundations seems to have been avoided in the gold area. The specifications for the Wells Fargo Building and the Fallon Hotel in Columbia called for stone foundations.[13]

Stone Construction

Stone suitable for building was found throughout the region, both field stone and quarry stone. Granite quarried possibly at Quincy in Plumas County was advertised in a San Francisco newspaper in 1854.[14] Rhyolite tuff, known locally as lava, was another of the kinds of stone quarried and hauled elsewhere for use as a building material. It had the advantage not only of durability but also of workability as it could be easily dressed with the stone mason's adze because of its softness. This workability permitted the cutting of long narrow blocks for lintels and dressing of thin blocks for facing over a rubble core.[15] From a freestone quarry on the Marsh Estate, Rancho Los Medanos, near Brentwood (Contra Costa County) stone was obtained for the ranch house. Built in 1856,[16] it may be regarded as a somewhat free interpretation of Gothic design

FIG. 2. Columbia, Tuolumne County. St. Anne's Church. Dedicated 1856. (Historic American Buildings Survey)



with three-story load-bearing walls of irregular ashlar masonry. Pointed windows appear in the three gables of the façade and the fourth or wooden top story of the tower.

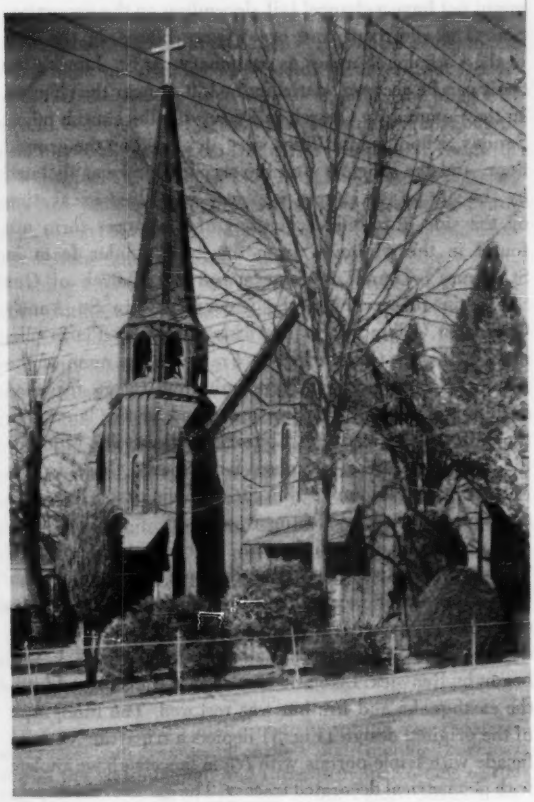
The Gothic Revival in California

The Gothic Revival in America had been ushered in by the Greek Revival which contained in itself the germ of its own demise, for once a historical style was used, any or all historical styles could be used.

The popularity of the Gothic Revival in California can be illustrated by churches, residences, and public buildings from the San Francisco Bay area to the Mother Lode or gold area. Old St. Mary's Church (Fig. 1) illustrates the single tower and belfry type of church built during this period in the bay area, valley towns, and gold country, of wood in some instances and brick in others. A contemporary account mentioned the plans for the proposed church.

> [St. Mary's Church] will be principally constructed of brick, but will have a rough stone foundation, and mouldings of cut stone. The interior will be columned and arched, and the different parts of the edifice finished in the Gothic style of the sixteenth century. The dimensions of the building are seventy-five by one hundred and thirty feet. It will have a spire two hundred feet in height. Altogether this building will be one of the architectural beauties of San Francisco.[17]

FIG. 3. Sonora, Tuolumne County. St. James's Church, 1859. (Historic American Buildings Survey)



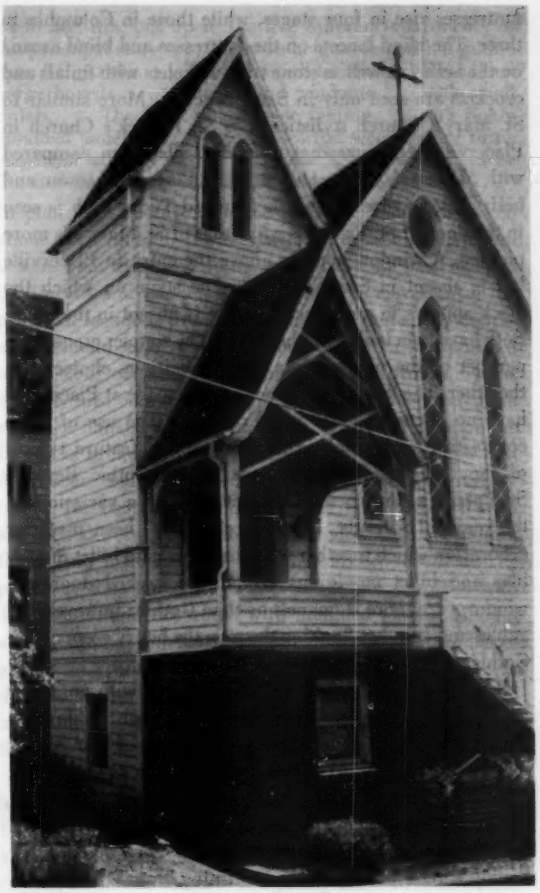


FIG. 4. Placerville, El Dorado County. Church of Our Savior, 1865. (Author)

The church was completely gutted in the earthquake and fire of 1906; surprisingly enough the four walls remained intact, and proving secure upon examination, restoration was begun immediately. A traveller impressed by St. Anne's Church in Columbia (Fig. 2) compared it with St. Mary's Church in San Francisco.

Interestingly enough the builders utilized the site to advantage as St. Anne's dominates Kennebec Hill. When compared with St. Mary's a general similarity in outline is noted, but the Columbia structure is of somewhat reduced scale and the mass and emphasis of the tower less. What appears to be a temporary roof at Columbia spoils the original roof line. In San Francisco the stepped salient

buttresses rise in four stages, while those in Columbia in three. The blind lancets on the buttresses and blind arcade on the belfry as well as stone trim, spirelets with finials and crockets are seen only in San Francisco. More similar to St. Mary's Church stylistically is St. Patrick's Church in Placerville. Of somewhat reduced scale when compared with St. Mary's, it is noted that the Placerville tower and belfry rise in three stages. A flattened Tudor arch is seen in the door of St. Patrick's while that of St. Mary's is more pointed. A window appears above the entry in Placerville but is absent in San Francisco. The stage on which the clock appears in the brick structure is absent in the other. Both have twin lancets in the belfry. The simpler crenellated parapet of the one seems a more felicitious choice than the other. The flanking portions of the façade at Placerville have no openings as at San Francisco. The use of stone contrasting with brick in St. Mary's is a feature typical of the Butterfield-Ruskin phase of the Gothic Revival. St. Patrick's Church in Sonora is cited as a variation on the regional formula. Round arches have been used for decoration which together with the horizontal billet mouldings and billet mouldings around the arched door and windows are more Romanesque than Gothic; however, the gables and spirelets flanking them on the belfry seem quasi-Gothic.

Several wooden churches were designed with an asymmetrical façade creating an interesting effect. St. James's Church in Sonora (Fig. 3) and the Church of Our Savior in Placerville (Fig. 4) are examples of the asymmetrical disposition. The site of the Sonora church was donated by three residents, Caleb Dorsey, Abner Pitts, and Frederick Salter in 1859. The Episcopalians of Sonora had written Bishop Kip of San Francisco informing him of their desire to hold services in a church of their own and requested him to send a minister to take charge of the parish. The bishop sent the Rev. John G. Gasmann, a Norwegian, in response to their request. Utilizing local materials the minister designed the building and helped build it. It was finished in September, 1859, and the first service was held on October 4th.[18]

It was designed as a single-aisle church with square tower and with vestry and utilities in the rear. The façade is composed as a single gable shed form flanked by a tower and spire at the left. The gable portion is pierced by three lancets above an entry. The tower provides another entry into the church. At each projecting corner of the tower appear two salient buttresses at right angles to each other. Transition from the square plan of the tower to the octagonal plan of the belfry is effected by sloping triangular areas at the base of the belfry. The wooden spire rises from a truncated octagonal pyramidal base. By use of board-and-batten siding, accenting the verticality of the composition, an interesting pattern of light and dark is achieved. The façade of the Church of Our Savior in Placerville is somewhat analogous to that of St. James's. Both have triple lancets; however, those at Sonora are coupled while those at Placerville are separate and surmounted by an ovoid window. At Sonora the windows originally had wooden mullions but now are leaded. At Placerville the windows have wooden mullions. Both have an entry in the tower, but here the similarity ceases. The light church has horizontal siding and belfry but no spire. Inspection of the Sonora church during restoration in September, 1949, revealed the use of balloon framing put together with square nails. The simple open-timber roof utilized king-post construction supported by shoring timbers which in turn were secured to cased vertical timbers on the exterior which look like salient buttresses. Another interesting open-timber roof is seen in the Church of Our Savior in Placerville. This cruciform structure is covered with a roof supported by rafters and purlins with no ridge-pole, the system being strengthened by intersecting timbers about half-way up the rafters. At the crossing two intersecting arches of pointed form are seen which in turn appear to rest partially on corbelled nook shafts which serve more of a decorative purpose than a structural one. The arrangement of the interiors of these churches is similar: all have a central aisle. The chancels might or might not have a chancel rail, depending on the denomination. The choir loft and organ were placed in the rear in the Catholic churches as customary. At St. James's the choir can be accommodated in the loft or near the chancel. In the Community Church in Placerville the church office, Sunday School, and utilities were all placed on the ground floor, and the sanctuary on the second. This was dictated by the site as the church is placed in a deep excavation on the side of a hill. Variations of the lancet form are found in the windows, from the very slender form in St. James's Church in Sonora and the Church of Our Savior in Placerville to the wider forms in St. Anne's Church in Columbia, St. Patrick's Church in Placerville, and St. Mary's Church in San Francisco. In none of the windows of these churches are imitation tracery forms as such found. Coupled lancets are noted in the lancets in the belfry of St. Patrick's Church in Placerville. Much of the charm of these churches, particularly those in the Mother Lode, is due to the site, simplicity of line, and restrained decorative treatment.

St. Francis's Church in San Francisco, designed by Thomas England, is the earliest example of a basilica plan with a two-tower façade of Gothic Revival design in the state. Dating from 1859, it was built within less than a decade after St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York was begun by Renwick. Like St. Mary's Church it suffered from the earthquake and fire but was restored. The lithograph of the original design (Fig. 5) depicts a tripartite recessed façade with triple portals with triple lancets above replete with geometrical decorated tracery. The gable of the façade

was pierced with a niche. The towers rise in three stages with belfries in the fourth. Spirelets at each corner of the towers surmounting the salient buttresses were decorated with finials and crockets and built as diminutive buttress piers which appear to support single-strut flying buttresses which abut against the octagonal spires. The spires are decorated with lucarnes on the lower portions with diminutive lucarnes toward their apexes and are surmounted by crosses. In the nave elevation the wall area is divided by salient buttresses running from a basement course to the parapet and pierced by attenuated lancets with tracery.

In the sixties the professional architect is more evident. Miner F. Butler of San Francisco, who designed the State Capitol in Sacramento in 1860, also designed a courthouse for Nevada County after the fire of 1863.[19] It is possible that such architectural handbooks as Minard Lafever's *Builder's General Instructor* and *Modern Builder's Guide* found their way across the country, around the Horn or across the Isthmus to California with pioneering carpenters, cabinetmakers, and masons. One instance is known of an architectural handbook that was brought to California. A copy of *The Architecture of Country Houses* by Andrew Jackson Downing was owned by the Rev. J. A. Benton of Sacramento, who arrived in California on the ship *Edward Everett* in July, 1849, although this particular copy was not brought at that time.[20] It is not possible to tell if this book was ever used by Benton or others, but Downingesque cottages can be found, for example, the Moss cottage in Oakland (Fig. 6) which is strikingly analogous to a cottage designed by Downing for William J. Rotch in New Bedford, Massachusetts.[21] Downing believed that certain men were superior to others despite Jacksonian sentiment to the contrary. To him architecture symbolized class distinctions and expressed individuality of the owner. Downing expressed a penchant for "modifications of the rural Gothic, common in England and Germany, with high gables wrought with tracery, bay windows, and other features full of domestic expression."[22] The Gothic he felt was particularly consonant with the picturesque landscape and suited for the "man of sentiment." Exterior and interior finishes and details were specified: subdued colors were recommended and positive colors, especially white, were to be avoided; wood should be flecked with sand when painted to imitate stone; boldly projecting profile mouldings would heighten the picturesque—all to be set in a "wealth of bower, and vine, and creeper" to attain to true "*rurality*."

The architectural specifications for the Moss cottage reveal an interest in Gothic and quasi-Gothic forms for both exterior and interior decoration (Figs. 6 and 7).

> A plain, moulded Tudor arch to be sprung over the stairway recess with ornamental corbels, plain moulded cornices run in the vestibule hall and three principal rooms of the first story. . . . Fine ornamental gothic centre pieces from 24 to 36″ dia. put up in the five different apartments of the principal story. . . . Stairs to be guarded with a gothic open balustrade. . . . The gables all finished with moulded barge boards . . . pinnacles and pendants . . . with small finials. . . . The front doors made folding . . . with richly moulded panels. . . . The oriels of the second story to be projected as per elevation. . . . The principal story to be finished throughout with heavy gothic moulded base . . .[23]

In plan the structure is cruciform with rooms arranged about a central hall. The regularity of the central-hall plan is somewhat disguised on the exterior by the placement of the library and kitchen to the right. The elevation of the principal façade is divided by the horizontal string course at the second story. The main body of the house is covered with a roof of truncated pyramidal form broken by the strongly projecting overhanging dormer over the main entrance flanked by dormer-oriels. The wall area of the façade is broken by floor to ceiling windows on the first floor decorated with hood moulds and the second-story oriels. The central projecting dormer is embellished with an oriel. Decorative features are the moulded bargeboard, finials and pendants, and bold mouldings specified. The parlor is dominated by a carved marble fireplace with Tudor arch and decorated with moulded plaster pendant and mouldings on the ceiling reminiscent of the "rococotho" of Strawberry Hill. Originally the woodwork was dark as in the library. Excellent craftsmanship is noted in the blinds, panelling, and cove beamed ceiling in the library.

Perhaps the now destroyed William Penn Humphreys house in San Francisco (Fig. 8) reflected some of the Downing canons with its vines and landscaping. Basically an Early Republican, central-hall, frame structure with cupola, its Gothic features are purely decorative: crenellations, hood moulds, and octagonal colonettes. Nail holes showed that there were possibly Tudor arches formerly between the colonettes.

When General Vallejo built his ranch house in 1850–1851 on part of the former Rancho Agua Caliente, he built a Gothic Revival frame structure, naming it *Lachryma Montis* because of the hot and cold springs which issued from the hillside nearby (Fig. 9). This structure follows a tau-shaped plan with service facilities in the rear. The exterior shows a one-story portion with gabled second story, the roof of which is punctuated by dormers. An oriel appears on the façade of the principal gable end surmounted by a lancet window. The accompanying structure is called the *Swiss Chalet* and was built of wood and brick, the lumber having been brought around the Horn in 1849–1850.[24] This rancho complex antedated by five years the Gothic Revival stone house on the Marsh Estate in Contra Costa County mentioned under stone construction.

Besides churches and residences, public buildings were designed in the Gothic Revival style. The now destroyed city hall of San Jose (Santa Clara County) appears to have

FIG. 5. San Francisco. St. Francis's Church, 1859. Thomas England, architect. (From a lithograph in the Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., Collection, Los Angeles County Museum)

FIG. 6. Oakland. Moss Cottage, 1864–1865. Heston and Williams, architects. (Lawrence M. Finigan)

FIG. 7. Oakland. Moss Cottage, the parlor. (Lawrence M. Finigan)

FIG. 8. San Francisco. William Penn Humphreys House, 1852. (*The San Francisco Examiner*)

been a rectangular structure in plan and castellated in elevation. The same disposition is seen in the Yuba County Courthouse, built in 1855–1856, and still standing.[25] In the spirit of travesty on the Gothic romance and satire on the Gothic Revival architect expressed in Lowell's poem, *The Unhappy Lot of Mr. Knott,* is Engine Company 15 on California Street in San Francisco (Fig. 10). Built in 1884,[26] it may be regarded as a clever burlesque of Gothic decorative detail. The symmetrical first and second stories are piquantly accented by the asymmetrically disposed

tower. The tripartite façade consists of a central portal surmounted by a transom window in the form of a quasi-Tudor arch replete with tracery which is flanked by side entrances with quatrefoils above. The triple disposition is reflected in the upper story separated from the lower by a horizontal course decorated with paterae. The gabled, crenellated parapet is dominated by a central finial and flanked by two corbelled finials—all in the form of fire hydrants, the center one of which is capped with a fireman's hat—while portrait heads of former San Francisco fire chiefs appear at the uppermost left and right just under the parapet as grotesques!

Conclusion

This architecture may be regarded as the product of an economy and symbol of a society which flourished and declined. Vast states and territories in the West beyond the Great Plains had been pioneered by men in quest of El Dorado. The nascent dream of empire was accompanied by the fitful dream of the architect, emotionally consonant with Thomas Cole's *Course of Empire* and *Architect's Dream* of a decade or so previous. Architecturally speaking this westernmost expression of American sentiment, nurtured in part by romantic idealism and strengthened by romantic realism of its literature, was an amplification of the national pattern. Just as in other sections of the nation the Greek fever had been supplanted by the Gothic mania, the Gothic by the Tuscan, the Norman, the Reign of Terror as swiftly as Americans changed their politics, their tastes in literature, their modes of travel and enterprise, the trend was reflected in California's architecture consummating in San Francisco's bedizened Baroque Nob Hill palaces of western empire builders most of which were destroyed in the earthquake and fire of 1906.

THE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

1. Dates of the monuments considered indicate that the climax of the movement occurred before 1870. Free disposition of masses and arbitrary application of decorative motifs are noted in later structures as the capricious Carson house in Eureka (1886) and Bacon Hall at the University of California, Berkeley (1881), the "streaky bacon" effect of which is reminiscent of Memorial Hall at Harvard University (1871–1882). The Chemistry Building on the Berkeley campus (1890) reflects Italianate interest in the design of the loggia and Gothic interest in decorative details. The wane of the Gothic is affirmed by the advent of the Richardsonian Romanesque in the Stanford University quadrangle, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1887.

2. *The California Star*, Apr. 1, 1848.

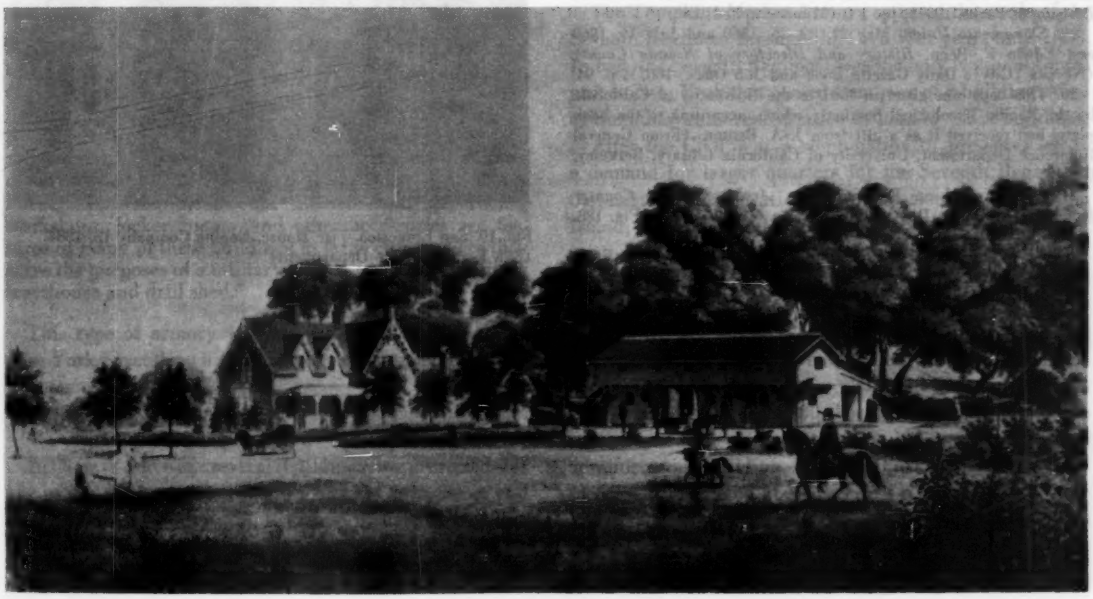
3. Newell D. Chamberlain, *The Call of Gold* (Mariposa, Calif.: The Gazette Press, 1936), p. 50.

4. Horace Greeley, Leon Case, *et al.*, *The Great Industries of the United States* (Hartford: J. B. Burr & Hyde, 1872), p. 40.

5. Edward A. Wicher, *The Presbyterian Church in California, 1849–1927* (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1927), p. 45.

6. Robert F. Heizer and Franklin Fenenga, "Survey of Building

FIG. 9. Sonoma County. Vallejo House, *Lachryma Montis*, 1850–51. (From contemporary lithograph reproduced in Douglas S. Watson, *California in the Fifties*, 1936)



Structures of the Sierran Gold Belt—1848–70," *Geologic Guidebook Along Highway 49—Sierran Gold Belt, The Mother Lode Country*, Bulletin 141 (San Francisco: State of California, Department of Natural Resources, Division of Mines, Sept., 1948), p. 95.

7. Francis W. Wilson, "Architectural Study of Columbia" (Berkeley: Compiled for State of California, Department of Natural Resources, Division of Parks, 1937), p. 18. (Mimeographed).

8. William B. Lardner and Michael M. Brock, *History of Placer and Nevada Counties* (Los Angeles: Historic Records Co., 1924), p. 114.

9. John R. Browne, *Resources of the Pacific Slope* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1869), pp. 245 f.

10. California State Mining Bureau, *Twelfth Report of the State Mineralogist (second biennial) Two Years Ending Sept. 15, 1894* (Sacramento: A. J. Johnston, Superintendent State Printing, 1894), pp. 380 f.

11. "Specifications of Materials and Labor Required to Erect and Complete a Gothic Cottage Near the City of Oakland for J. Mora Moss, Esq." (MS, Oakland Public Library, Oakland, Calif., Signed Feb. 29, 1864), par. 3.

12. *Ibid.*

13. "Contract and Architectural Specifications for the Wells Fargo Building at Columbia, California." (MS, Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company, San Francisco, Calif., Signed Apr. 24, 1858), par. 10.

"Specifications for the Erection of a Brick Building for Owen Fallon on the South Side of Washington Street in the City of Columbia." (MS, Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company, San Francisco, Calif., Signed Sept. 6, 1859), par. 5.

14. *Daily Alta California*, Jan. 1, 1854.

15. Heizer and Fenenga, *op cit.*, p. 93.

16. Mildred Brooke Hoover, *Historic Spots in California, Counties of the Coast Range* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, [c. 1937]), pp. 98 f.

17. Frank Soulé, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1855), pp. 679 f. The wood engraving of St. Mary's in Soulé depicts a spire which the restored structure lacks. I have not been able to determine if a spire was built or only projected. Finials appear on the side elevation and a window of ogee form above the door of the projected church.

18. James C. Kean, "St. James' Episcopal Church." (Berkeley: Compiled for State of California, Department of Natural Resources, Division of Parks, 1937), pp. 1 f. (Mimeographed).

19. *Sacramento Union*, May 21, 22, 25, 1860 and July 16, 1860 and Edwin F. Bean, *History and Directory of Nevada County* (Nevada [City]: Daily Gazette Book and Job Office, 1867), p. 94.

20. This copy was given in 1901 to the University of California by the Pacific Theological Seminary which, according to the book plate, had received it as a gift from J. A. Benton. (From General Reference Department, University of California Library, Berkeley, Calif.)

21. Andrew Jackson Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1851), p. 296, Fig. 128.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

23. "Specifications of Material and Labor Required to Erect and Complete a Gothic Cottage . . . for J. Mora Moss, Esq.," par. 5, 10, 14, 17, 19, 20. See n. 11, *supra.*

24. Mildred Brooke Hoover, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

25. This structure was yet extant the last time I saw it in 1952.

26. Captain Louis Hage and Michael Lo Presti, "A Brief History of the San Francisco Fire Department," [San Francisco] *City and County Record*, XX (December 1953), 35.

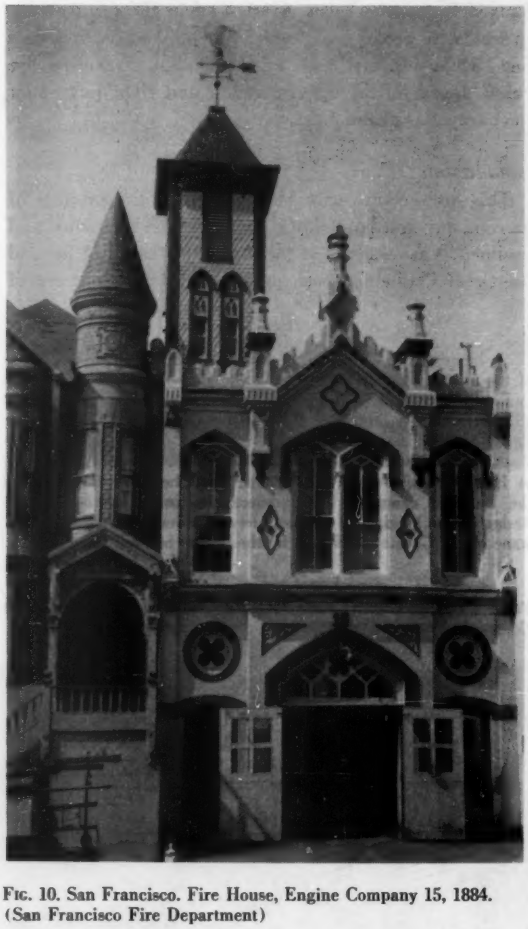


FIG. 10. San Francisco. Fire House, Engine Company 15, 1884. (San Francisco Fire Department)

THE MEDIEVAL CASTLE REVIVAL: NEW YORK ARMORIES

ROBERT KOCH

THE ARMORY with its castle façade and large drill-shed is still a familiar sight in almost every large city in America, although most of these edifices were constructed in the last decade of the nineteenth century or the first decade of the twentieth. Many are still fulfilling their original function, the training of an armed militia, and are also frequently rented for exhibition and other purposes. They are of a type of building which reveals something of the attitude toward revival architecture at the turn of the century in this country.

The term "armory" which had originally referred only to the place of manufacture of arms, came to be used in connection with militia headquarters. An early use of the term in this sense can be found in 1835 when "the Newport Artillery, now the oldest active military organization in America, voted to build a new 'armoury'." [1] As early as 1843, the New York Seventh Regiment started its "first movement for a regimental armory and drill rooms." [2] The practice expanded the meaning of the word so that, in 1901, it is defined as:

> A building for the use of a body of militia, with storage for their arms and equipment. In modern American practice, the newer armouries are strongly built structures of considerable size, containing a large and well-lighted drill hall, in some cases large enough for battalion exercises and practice with light artillery; a shooting gallery, a gymnasium, special rooms for the higher officers, and in many cases separate rooms for each of the companies of a regiment. Libraries, messrooms, kitchens and storerooms, workshops, locker rooms, and other accessories are features of many of these buildings in large cities, where they serve the purposes of a military club as well as of a military storehouse and drill shed.[3]

This type of armory was evolved by and for the élite New York Seventh so it is necessary to examine the process in some detail.

The Seventh Regiment

In New York City several buildings were erected for use by the National Guard. An arsenal at 64th Street and Central Park was begun in 1847 and completed in 1851. It was used only until 1857 when the State Arsenal on Seventh Avenue and 35th Street took its place. It has since been used as a museum of natural history and now provides offices for the Department of Parks. The Seventh Regiment used this building from 1853 until 1857. The building stands today facing Central Park Zoo as a fine example of a castle style military building from the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1852 a new City Armory was built on the corner of Elm and White Streets and another at Second Avenue and 21st Street was burned by the draft rioters in 1863.

In 1855 the Seventh Regiment began to solve its needs for a building of its own. An agreement was signed with the butchers using Tompkins Market to rebuild and share that building. Tompkins Market on Third Avenue between 6th and 7th Streets had originally been erected in wood in 1830. It was rebuilt in iron beginning in the summer of 1857 in a style resembling other commercial cast iron fronts like that for the Harper & Bros. building by James Bogardus in 1854, and was completed in September, 1860.

The Tompkins Market Armory satisfied the needs of the Seventh Regiment through the Civil War years until 1868. In fact, the Seventh Regiment was the only National Guard unit in New York that owned even part of a building. Most of the other units rented space in lofts or office buildings.

After the Civil War a combination of pressures led to a demand for larger quarters for the Seventh Regiment: the northward migration of population on Manhattan Island, the development in the war of new and heavier equipment, and the upsurge in patriotism which increased the numbers and wealth of the unit.

In September, 1874, a 21-year lease was signed for a plot owned by the city between 66th and 67th Streets, Fourth and Lexington Avenues. Charles W. Clinton was engaged to draw preliminary plans and the total cost was estimated at about $400,000. The ceremonies of laying the cornerstone took place October 13, 1877. The roof of the administration building, facing on Park Avenue, was completed before the end of 1878 (Fig. 1).

The construction of the drill-room took longer. The trusses were not set in place until December of 1878, and the walls and roof were not completed until 1879 (Fig. 2).

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The New Armory was formally opened to the public on September 30, 1880, was visited by 38,000 people and on December 15, 1880, the New Armory Inauguration Ball was held.

Colonel Emmons Clark who conceived the idea of the New Armory wrote of its construction:

> The designs adopted by the Building Committee were the work of Charles W. Clinton, architect, and to his genius and admirable artistic taste the Regiment is mainly indebted for the architectural beauty of the building, exterior and interior, and for the complete construction and finish of every part of the immense structure. The designs and plans for the large iron trusses and other iron-work of the drill-room building were made by Charles Macdonald, President of the Delaware Bridge Company. The services of R. F. Hatfield, consulting architect, were mainly devoted to the study of the working plans.[4]

The trusses were supplied and erected by The Danforth Locomotive and Machine Company, of Paterson, New Jersey. The total cost of the Armory came to over $605,000.

> The measurements of the drill-room are as follows: width—187 feet, 4 inches, over all, 183 feet, 4 inches, clear; height—90 feet, 10 inches, over all, 70 feet to the underside of the arch. The trusses are 24 feet apart and the length is 290 feet, 8 inches, in the clear. Under the drill-room there is a rifle-range three hundred feet long, roofed with arched masonry and containing six targets.[5] The obvious basis for comparison of these figures is with the train shed of the old Grand Central Station built between 1869 and 1871. A contemporary wrote that the same type of truss is used but it had been strengthened so as to have been able to bear more weight.[6]

Writing in 1923, A. D. F. Hamlin states that

> the old type of terminal railway-station with its headhouse and vast train-shed dates from the sixties and was typical for thirty years. It embodies many of the elements of the Armory problem and furnished obvious precedents for drill-shed design. The train shed of the old Grand Central Depot at New York with its length of over 600 feet and its span of 200 will be remembered by our older architects as an unusually elegant sample of its type.[7]

He is aware that "the earliest of our armories to be roofed with iron and glass" was that of the Seventh Regiment which he erroneously attributes to Mr. Hunt. He continues that "for its time it was a striking and original work, a straightforward and practical design with an exterior free from the more or less affected mediaevalism that marked not a few armories of slightly later date."

The interior decoration of the regimental rooms was planned and supervised by Charles Clinton according to a plan submitted in September, 1879, while one wing, including the Veterans Room and Library, was decorated in 1880 for the Veterans Association by a group of artists under the direction of Louis C. Tiffany.[8] This Veterans Room immediately became the main attraction of the armory building since it represented a major effort of some of the best known painter-decorators at a time when the public interest in decorative art was reaching a high point. Working with Tiffany on this project was Stanford White, the architect, Samuel Colman, George Yewell and Frank D. Millet, painters who, like Tiffany, had exhibited in Paris in 1878, and Mrs. Candance Wheeler who had previously done some embroideries from Tiffany designs. The whole was described as "distinctly out of the common" and remains today as one of the finest examples of late Victorian "artistic" interiors.[9]

As it stood in 1880 the Seventh Regiment Armory was the finest and best equipped armory building in the country. To keep up with the progress in military affairs, the building has undergone two major alterations. In 1910-11, the central tower was removed, another floor was added to the administration building and a balcony was added to the drill room. Then, in 1931, a fifth floor was added and the 3rd and 4th floors were completely redone.

Other Armories, 1880–1900

The success of the Seventh Regiment Armory stimulated every other unit of the National Guard, not only in New York but in neighboring cities as well, to desire a similar type of building for itself. In 1882 the First Regiment of the Philadelphia National Guard erected a new armory from plans by J. H. Windrim. In 1884 a New York State Armory was built at Troy, New York, designed by Brown-Dawson. In 1886, Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1887, Boston, in 1890, Chicago, and in 1895, Cleveland, joined the growing list of cities with large armory buildings.[10] Of these armories built outside of New York, the most interesting to use for comparison is the one in Chicago (Fig. 3) because of the very progressive character of the Chicago School of Architecture at this time.

The First Regiment of the Illinois National Guard had been organized in 1874 and by 1890, when the new armory was built, consisted of 530 men, Col. Charles R. E. Koch commanding. This new armory was "located at the northeast corner of Sixteenth Street and Michigan Avenue. It is perhaps the most massive structure in Chicago. . . . The architects, Burnham & Root, have also achieved a notable success in the interior arrangements. The space covered by the building, 164 by 174 feet, gave room for a very large drill-hall on the first floor. . . . The armory, which is the best building of the kind in the United States, was built largely by subscription." Marshall Field gave the regiment a 99-year lease of the site at a nominal rental.[11] Burnham and Root show that they have well learned the lessons of Richardson and Sullivan, particularly as expressed in the former's warehouse for Marshall Field. The mass of the building is simplified into a solid block and only a token of the medieval fortress character remains. As a plan it has simplicity and strength that is totally

Fig. 1. New York. Seventh Regiment Armory, 1878. Charles W. Clinton, architect. (The New-York Historical Society)

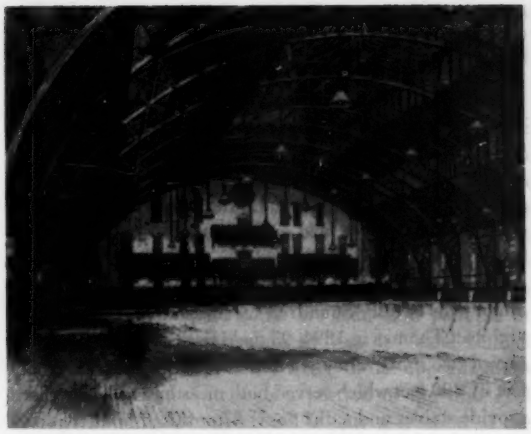


Fig. 2. New York. Seventh Regiment Armory drill-room. Completed 1879. (Emmons Clark, *History . . .*, 1890)

Fig. 3. Chicago. First Regiment Armory, 1890. Burnham & Root, architects. (Author Coll.)

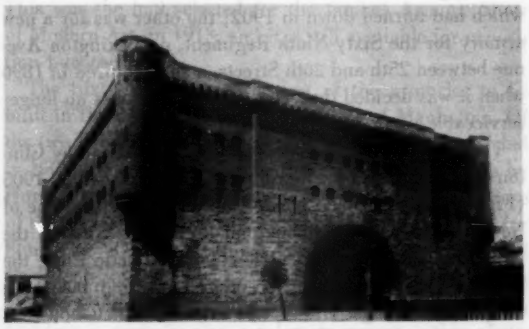
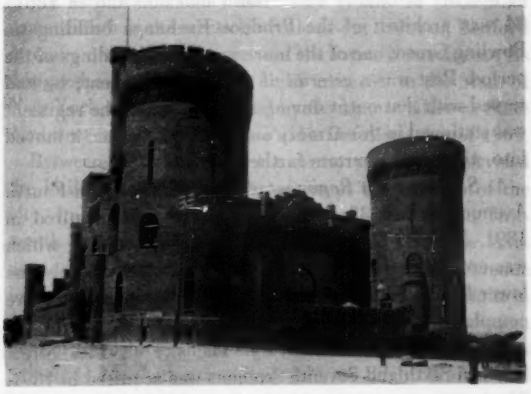


Fig. 4. New York. Eighth Regiment Armory, 1890. John R. Thomas, architect. (The New-York Historical Society)



lacking in the much more picturesque designs that were then springing up all over the City of New York. Until 1920, this was Chicago's only armory. By 1900 New York had a total of nine new armories including the Seventh Regiment's.

In 1884 the Armory Board of the City of New York was created to solve the housing problems of National Guard units that did not have the resources of the Seventh Regiment. At that time there was a total of eight regiments in New York. During its first year the armory board received requests for quarters from six of these regiments. Besides the Seventh, only the Sixty-Ninth Regiment, the "Fighting Irish," refrained from making a request (until 1886). This is explained by the fact that it had moved into Tompkins Market when the Seventh moved out. All of these requests included, as part of their requirements, a drill room 200 feet square, which, according to the armory board, was needed by "the Battery of Gatling Guns." [12]

As one of its first acts the Armory Board "made an inspection of such armories as there were, and gave as much time to the Seventh Regiment's armory as to all others combined. The Seventh's was the last word in armories in those days." [13] By the end of 1884 three sites had been purchased and plans for two armories had been accepted. A two million dollar bond issue was floated to raise the funds.[14]

These armories were completed as follows:

1. *Twelfth Regiment Armory.* The site was purchased in 1884 for $208,000 between 61st and 62nd Streets on Ninth Avenue. A competition was held and the plans of James E. Ware were accepted. The building was completed in 1886. This is the only case before 1900 where the Board selected

its architect on the basis of a competition. Ware had been a member of the Seventh Regiment while that armory was being built. He later became interested in fireproof warehouse construction and in 1891 designed the Manhattan Warehouse building.

2. *Eighth Regiment Armory* (Fig. 4). A site was purchased in 1884 at Fourth and Madison Avenues between 94th and 95th Streets. The building was built in 1889 and a grand opening was held on January 30, 1890. The architect, John R. Thomas, placed the armory facing Fourth Avenue on the easterly three-quarters of the plot. Another armory for cavalry Squadron "A" was added to the site by architect Thomas in 1894–95 making this an armory which served two units. The drill-hall with its clear space of 180 feet by 300 feet which served both units had to be altered to provide stables and a dirt floor. After this John R. Thomas' most important building was the Hall of Records completed in 1901.

3. *Twenty-Second Regiment Armory*. The site on Ninth Avenue and the Boulevard (now Broadway) between 67th and 68th Streets was also purchased in 1884. The building was erected 1890–92 from plans by George B. Post, one of New York's leading architects, who in 1880 had designed the Cornelius Vanderbuilt mansion and in 1881–84 was architect of the Produce Exchange building on Bowling Green, one of the more important buildings of the period. Post was a veteran of the 22nd Regiment; he had served with that outfit during the Civil War. The regiment was stationed in this armory only until 1911 when it moved into still larger quarters farther uptown.

4. *Seventy-First Regiment Armory*. The site on Fourth Avenue between 33rd and 34th Streets was acquired in 1891. John R. Thomas also designed this building which was erected in 1892. It had a drill area on two levels, the lower for the battery and the upper for the infantry. A fire completely destroyed this armory in 1902.

5. *Ninth Regiment Armory*. The site on 14th Street between Sixth and Seventh Avenues was acquired in 1891. The building was erected in 1894–96 from plans by Cable and Sergeant. The drill floor of 188 feet by 210 feet is still being used for exhibitions.

Before 1900 there were also two armories built in Brooklyn, one for the Thirteenth Regiment on Sumner and Jefferson Avenues and one for the Twenty-Third Regiment at Bedford and Atlantic Avenues. But there is nothing distinctive or architecturally important about any of these seven buildings.[15] They follow the formula set by the Seventh, each with an administration building and a drill-shed, the only tendency being an increased picturesqueness and an increase in the use of medievalisms. Not one is as tailored as the Seventh Regiment's; not one is as simple and massive as the Chicago armory, and yet, none of these is as fully picturesque as the one completed in 1905 on the site of the burned-out Seventy-First.

Turning Point, 1900–1910

Shortly after 1900 the Armory Board of New York instituted the policy of using competitions for plans for armories and awarding $500 to each of the losing competitors. This seems to have stimulated a general interest in the character of these buildings. Writing in 1905, Montgomery Schuyler states that

> we have by no means, even in the State of New York, and after so many expensive experiments, arrived at anything that may fairly be called a type . . . which makes it an extremely attractive architectural problem. It shares with the storage warehouse the relaxation of the commercial requisition that a building shall be composed of a minimum of wall and a maximum of window.[16]

At a meeting of the Armory Board on March 16, 1903, plans were finally accepted for building four more new armories, two in Manhattan and two in Brooklyn. These four buildings mark both the climax and the turning point of the armory building program.

In Manhattan one was for the rebuilding of the Seventy-First Regiment Armory at 34th Street and Park Avenue which had burned down in 1902; the other was for a new armory for the Sixty-Ninth Regiment, on Lexington Avenue between 25th and 26th Streets, a site acquired in 1896 when it was decided that Tompkins Market was no longer serviceable.

The competition for the Seventy-First was won by Clinton and Russell and the new building was finished by 1905 (Fig. 5). By this time Charles Clinton had become one of New York's leading commercial architects. He was the builder of the Hotel Astor, New York Athletic Club, the Bank of America and many other bank and insurance company buildings. His second armory, which houses a drill-hall 190 feet by 208 feet,[17] is completely picturesque.

> The traditions one finds in full force, all the conventions of the medieval warfare to which distance lends enchantment. . . . The parapets are crenellated, though nobody is expected to shoot between the crenelles. The cornices are machicolated, though nobody expects to pour hot lead from the machicoulis. But the composition, with its flanking round towers on each side of the entrance . . . the thickness of wall . . . the effective bonding of the rough brick walls with rough light stone—all these things are of an undeniable attractiveness.[18]

Also, the very tall tower, derived from Siena and asymmetrically placed, helps to make this an excellent example of picturesque eclecticism which effectively conceals the engineering of the drill-hall structure.

The other armory, begun in April, 1904, and also completed in 1905, less than a half-mile away, represents a completely new and different tendency. As the Seventy-First is completely within the nineteenth-century concept of the picturesque, so the Sixty-Ninth Regiment Armory represents the first step toward a modern or twentieth-century

concept. The design submitted by Joseph H. Hunt, of Hunt and Hunt, which won the competition rejects the use of medievalisms.

It seems even to be a protest and token of revolt against them. It is noteworthy by the absence of the conventions of military architecture . . . for, one sees, this practical conception of an armory is with difficulty distinguishable from that of a railroad station, with its 'head house,' answering to the administration, and its 'train shed' answering to the drill-room. Which conception, one has to own, is very thoroughly carried through.[19]

This building still has some "picturesque excrescences," but it is far more simple, restrained and honest in its exterior reflection of interior organization than any earlier example. It clearly points to the newer, more rational trends which at that time were beginning to develop in all phases of art. The drill-hall roof is carried by six pairs of three-hinge riveted steel trusses. Each truss has a span of 189 feet 8 inches and a rise of 103 feet 4½ inches center to center of pins. The drill-hall measures 201 feet 11½ inches by 168 feet 10 inches and all floor and roof slabs are of reinforced concrete construction. The brick arch at the east end of the drill-hall has a span of 90 feet 2 inches. This was the hall selected for the famous Armory Show of Modern Art, in 1913, and it is still available for exposition purposes.[20]

The Sixty-Ninth's was the last of the armories to be built in the downtown business district of Manhattan. Of the two Brooklyn armories, both of which were completed in 1907, the one for the Second Battalion Naval Militia by Horgan and Slattery is not included in this paper because of the special problems of the Naval Militia. The other for Squadron "C," on Bedford Avenue between Union and President Streets (Fig. 6), represents a new direction in armories since here, for the first time, the administration building is made to play a role subservient to that of the drill-hall.

This building marks the appearance of an architect whose name has become identified with the armories of New York in the twentieth century. Lewis F. Pilcher graduated from the School of Architecture at Columbia in 1895. He acquired his first practical experience in the office of Mercein Thomas in Brooklyn and, in 1901, set up an independent practice with his classmate, W. G. Tachau, which he maintained until 1921. At the meeting in 1903, the Armory Board awarded the firm of Pilcher and Tachau the job of building an armory for Troop "C," in Brooklyn. This was their first success. Professor A. D. F. Hamlin of Columbia University was one of the professional advisors of the Armory Board at the time of this competition.

Troop "C" had made its application for an armory in 1901, the site was purchased in 1902, ground was broken in 1903 and, by 1907 the Troop, which had by then become a Squadron, moved in. Hamlin later characterized the design of the building as simple, direct and convenient.

The arrangement of the stables in pavilions, each open to the light and air on three sides and on the fourth communicating directly with the drill-hall, was a wholly novel conception which won instant approval.[21]

The riding-hall has an area 180 feet by 311 feet clear. The 17 steel crescent trusses that support the concrete slab roof are 80 feet high. A contemporary critic, writing in the *American Architect and Building News*,[22] states that "the style of the armory structure is that known as 'L'Art Nouveau'." Actually, in the interior, there are some typically Art Nouveau details. The glass transom lights in the dining room and squad room are leaded in patterns of swirls that derive from designs by Van de Velde. Stained glass panels in the roof and a frieze in the upper hall are also fully Art Nouveau as is a portion of the iron grill railing of the balcony. But this is only a fraction of the work. The greater part, even of the detail, is a simplified stiff classical which belongs more to the machine than to the organic swirl.

Pilcher's successes were based on a careful and rational approach to the problems of function. He was the first architect who made a careful study of armory requirements and solved them on an engineering basis. However, it might seem to us today that there is still an element of romanticism in the erection of a look-out tower on Bedford Avenue, no matter how rational the form. Nevertheless, he designed a total of at least eight armories in the State of New York and was appointed by Governor Sulzer as State Architect in 1913 under the Public Buildings Act of 1909.

Between 1905 and 1911 the Armory Board supervised the building of four new armories at the expense of the city. In 1906–07 a new building was added to the Thirteenth Regiment Armory at Jefferson and Sumner Avenues; the Second Battery Armory at Franklin Avenue between 166th and 167th Streets in the Bronx was built in 1908–09; a new armory for the Twenty-Second Regiment at Fort Washington Avenue between 168th and 169th Streets in Manhattan was built in 1909–11 by Walker and Morris with a drill-hall 176 feet by 401 feet; and in 1911 an armory for the Third Battery was erected at 171 Claremont Avenue.

Six more armories were built at the same time by other agencies, three of them in Brooklyn financed by Kings County and three others by New York State of which two were in Brooklyn and one in Queens. None of these is as large as the one for Squadron "C" and none as architecturally important. By 1911, there were more than twenty armories actively functioning within the limits of New York City.

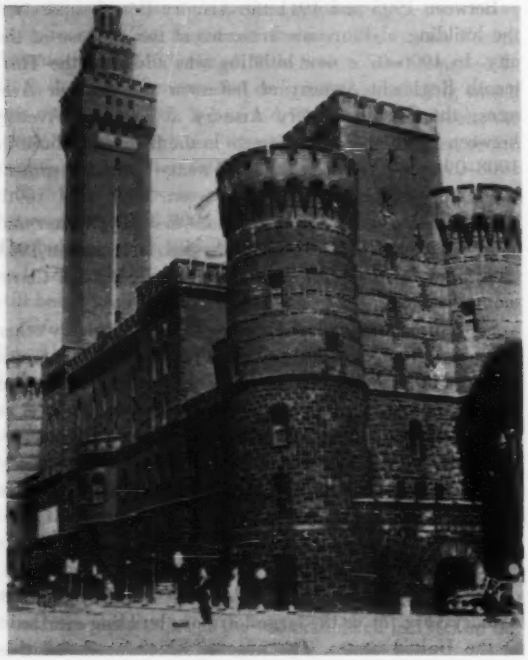
The Kingsbridge Armory and After

The Kingsbridge, or Eighth Coast Artillery District Armory (Fig. 7), is the largest armory building ever built in the United States. The process which produced this

huge structure was initiated in December, 1909, when the Armory Board approved a request of Colonel Austin for a new armory for the Eighth Coast Artillery District. On May 23, 1910, the Board recommended as a site for this armory "the lower unused portion of Jerome Park Reservoir situated at the north side of Kingsbridge Road between Jerome and Grand Avenues." The negotiations that followed were handled by Col. Austin with great speed and efficiency so that by March 16, 1911, the land had been surrendered by the Department of Water Supply, Gas and Electricity and the plans made by Pilcher and Tachau were accepted. Before the end of 1911 a necessary retaining wall was being built and bids were out for the construction of the building.[23] The building was begun in 1912, was interrupted by World War I and was not occupied until 1917, but the finished building does not differ in any major respect from the original plans.

In spite of the huge size of the drill-shed which dominates the whole, there is here a marked return to medievalism in the detail of the administration section. The result is therefore somewhat contradictory as these forms are dwarfed by the size of the drill-hall. The contour of the land and the size of the structure resulted in this arrangement with the administration building alongside instead of at one end of the hall.

FIG. 5. New York. Seventy-First Regiment Armory, 1905. Clinton & Russell, architects. (New York Convention and Visitors Bureau)

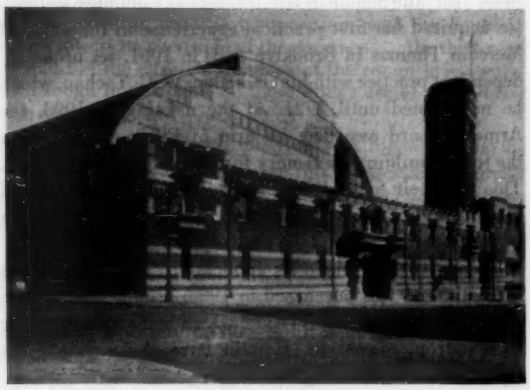


The drill-floor (Fig. 8) measures 328 feet by 600 feet over all, and the roof is supported by double trusses spaced over 30 feet on centers of the four-centered Tudor or Persian arch-form, which have a clear span of 308 feet and are about 140 feet high. Under the drill-floor there is today a garage which can house 800 trucks. This space originally was occupied by a rifle range 400 feet long, a bowling alley, a gymnasium, a lecture room, etc.

Hamlin notes that the length of this armory of 600 feet is identical to that of the old New York Grand Central Station already mentioned. The span he compares with the Paris Machinery Hall of 1889, which measured 1200 by 367 feet, and the central area of the Liberal Arts Building at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893 which measured 1300 by 384 feet, at that time (1923) the largest unencumbered space ever put under one roof.[24] The railway station which most closely approximates the Kingsbridge Armory is Broad Street Station in Philadelphia of 1892–93 with its three-hinge five-centered arches having a total span of 300 feet and a height of 108 feet. The length of this station, which Pilcher also must have known, is 595 feet. The armory roof, however, is much simpler and contains much less glass than was normal for a train-shed. No armory as large as this has since been built in this country, but from the lessons of this accomplishment a pattern was fixed that served as a model, not only for more recent armories, but also for other military-engineering problems, including aircraft hangars.

After the Kingsbridge there is no record of any extensive program of armory building in the City of New York. Between the two world wars the main problems were those of maintaining those buildings which were still in use. Outside of New York an active building program was carried on by the Public Works Administration between 1933 and 1939, which built armories from coast to coast. The decorative exteriors of these armories vary from

FIG. 6. Brooklyn. Squadron "C" Armory, 1903–07. Pilcher & Tachau, architects. (Squadron "C" Armory)



colonial revival to simple modern. However, for the most part their plans follow the type set in New York before 1917. The armory built in Jersey City, New Jersey, completed in 1936, has a drill-floor at street level, 248 by 321 feet.[25]

The spirit is dead which saw the medieval fortress as a fit symbol for the militia. The old armory buildings are tolerated only because no satisfactory substitute has yet been found. The Seventh Regiment Armory stands at the beginning of the development as a highly original work of architecture, while the Kingsbridge Armory is a gigantic machine not yet divested of medieval trim yet pointing to the naked steel and poured concrete of the airport hangars of today.

YALE UNIVERSITY

The writer wishes to express his appreciation for the assistance and encouragement of Carroll L. V. Meeks.

1. Vincent J. Scully, Jr., and Antoinette F. Downing, *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. 195.
2. Colonel Emmons Clark, *History of the Seventh Regiment of New York, 1806–1889*, (2 Vols.; New York, 1890), I, 296.
3. A. D. F. Hamlin, "Armoury," Russell Sturgis (ed.), *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building* (New York, 1901), I, 150–151.
4. Clark, *op. cit.*, II, 299.
5. These measurements appear under a printed photograph of the trusses being installed which was circulated by the Danforth Locomotive and Machine Co. The Seventh Regiment has a copy.
6. Clarence C. Buel, "The New York Seventh," *Scribner's Monthly*, Vol. 20 (May 1880), p. 79.
7. A. D. F. Hamlin, "The State Architect and His Works," *The Architectural Record*, Vol. 53 (January 1923), p. 42. His statement is confirmed by a comparison of dimensions as listed by C. L. V. Meeks in his forthcoming book on railway stations.
8. A detailed chronology of the decoration is being prepared by the author from the archives of the Regiment and the records of the Veterans group in connection with a dissertation on Louis C. Tiffany.
9. A bibliography of contemporary comments and an analysis of this decoration will also be included in this forthcoming dissertation.
10. *American Architect and Building News*, Vol. 12, p. 305; Vol. 15, p. 294; Vol. 21, p. 271; Vol. 47, p. 21; *American Architect*, Vol. 99^2, pp. 196–197; Vol. 110, pp. 77–82; Vol. 118^2, No. 2339.
11. "First Regiment Armory, Chicago," *Inland Architect and News Record*, Vol. 18, No. 6, and John J. Flinn, *The Standard Guide to Chicago* (Chicago, 1891), pp. 336–338.
12. *The Armory Board, 1884–1911* (New York, 1912), pp. 5–7.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. Reproduction of photos of seven of the eight armories then in use in New York can be seen in E. Idell Zeisloft (ed.), *The New Metropolis* (New York, 1899), pp. 413–418. The Twelfth Regiment Armory which is omitted by Zeisloft can be found together with other photos in Moses King, *King's Handbook of New York City* (2nd ed.; Boston, 1893), pp. 531–536.
16. Montgomery Schuyler, "Two New Armories," *The Architectural Record*, Vol. 19 (April 1906), p. 259.
17. *American Architect and Building News*, Vol. 89, p. 92 and *Engineering Record*, Vol. 50 (1904), pp. 4–7.
18. M. Schuyler, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 262–264. Included also are two good photos of this armory under construction.
20. William Francis Stanton Root, *The 69th Regiment in Peace and War* (New York, 1905), pp. 35–36 and *Engineering Record*, Vol. 51 (1905), pp. 619–625.
21. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
22. *American Architect and Building News*, Vol. 89 (Jan. 13, 1906), pp. 15–16. This issue also includes 10 pages of drawings and five photographs showing the armory under construction. Today the original structure is preserved intact.
23. The Armory Board, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
24. Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
25. C. W. Short and R. Stanley Brown, "Auditoriums and Armories," *Public Buildings Constructed by Federal and Other Governmental Bodies* (Washington, 1939), pp. 87–107. Also for other recent examples cf. *Architectural Concrete*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (May 1942), pp. 26–31.

FIG. 7. The Bronx, New York. Kingsbridge Armory, 1911–17. Pilcher & Tachau, architects.
(New York Convention and Visitors Bureau)

FIG. 8. The Bronx, New York. Kingsbridge Armory drill-hall.
(New York Convention and Visitors Bureau)

AMERICAN NOTES

CHARLES E. PETERSON, *Editor*

421 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 6.

NEW ORLEANS CUSTOM HOUSE

From his seemingly inexhaustible collection of New Orleans data our director Samuel Wilson, Junior, has prepared an essay on the first U.S. Custom House in his city. The structure is noteworthy because of its famous designer, the prefabrification of many parts at Philadelphia, and because it was the first Greek Revival building in New Orleans. We wish we could print the interesting specifications at full length.

LATROBE'S CUSTOM HOUSE, NEW ORLEANS, 1807–09

By SAMUEL WILSON, Jr.

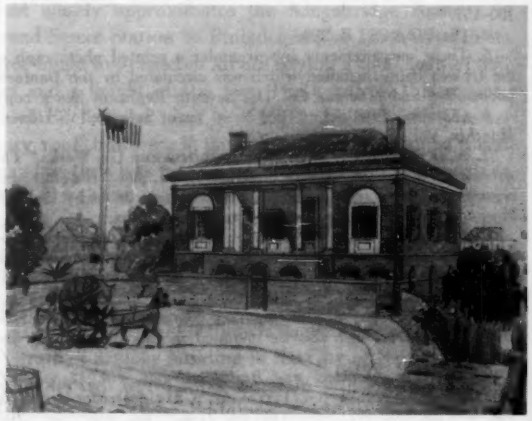
Within a few years following the Louisiana Purchase, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, in Washington as Surveyor of the Public Buildings of the United States, received instructions from Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, to make the necessary designs for a new Custom House at New Orleans. This was probably the first federal building to be erected in the new territory, and although the appropriation was small, Latrobe set about preparing the plans and specifications with characteristic thoroughness.

He sought what information was obtainable from persons familiar with New Orleans conditions. From Lewis De Mun, a young surveyor in his office whom he had sent in 1806 to survey the coast of Louisiana, he obtained some information on soil conditions, and to Daniel Clark, Louisiana Territorial Delegate in Washington, he addressed a letter on March 15th, 1807, regarding the building. "I am anxious," wrote Latrobe, "that the building should be as much as possible adapted to the climate, & therefore take the liberty to propose to forward to you the plan for your opinion previously to my making any contract for its execution."[1]

Exactly a month after this letter Latrobe received a note from Gallatin, who had evidently also discussed the building with others familiar with construction methods in New Orleans. This note, respecting the foundations of the Custom House, was answered at length the next day and the system of laying logs beneath walls was discussed and rejected by the architect, "because I do not think its use equal to its expense, & because also I think it cannot be secured sufficiently from rot and decay."[2] This decision may have been a contributing factor in the eventual failure of the structure.

On April 28, 1807,[3] Latrobe transmitted his design to Gallatin with the recommendation that Robert Alexander, a builder of Washington, be awarded a contract for its erection for $19,000. The contract was signed the same day.[4] Alexander had executed some of Latrobe's buildings for the Washington Navy Yard, and it was from him that Latrobe rented the house in which he lived in the capital.

Alexander, who intended to move to New Orleans with his family and business establishment, immediately began to collect materials for his project in Washington and Philadelphia. According to the specifications[5] the whole of the brickwork was to be of sound Philadelphia bricks, the window sills of stone, a band or string of freestone terminating the lower story. The builder was also required to "find and put up two Free Stone columns in 4 Blocks each, with Capitals & Bases as in the Drawings, to the South front and also the Capitals & Bases of the corresponding pilasters." The mantels, though not mentioned, were of marble. Since these materials were not obtainable at New Orleans, practically everything was prefabricated in the East and shipped by sea to the South.



New Orleans Custom House. The writer's rendered perspective drawing is based on various contemporary data, including the architect's specifications. (Ellen Latrobe Wilson Coll.)

For this purpose Alexander purchased at Philadelphia a brig which he loaded with bricks. All the carpenter's work for the building was prepared in Washington, and on August 1, 1807, Latrobe informed Gallatin that "Robert Alexander, carpenter of this city, has, in pursuance of a contract for the erection of the Custom House of the U.States in New Orleans, entered into with you, proceeded to execute the carpenter's & joiner's work of the same, and that he has in all respects, agreeably to the terms of his contract, all the joiner's work of the same, excepting a few articles, which, on account of the want of proper materials, or because they can only be finished on the spot, are not yet provided & the amount of which does not exceed 150 dollars, and that said articles are ready to be put on board, to be shipped to New Orleans, on Barry's wharf in this city . . ."[6]

Latrobe, in forwarding this official statement to Gallatin,

told him of a letter he had received from Alexander regarding the purchase of the brig "which he is now loading with the bricks I bought for him . . . for the Custom House at New Orleans. He [Alexander] stated that it is his intention to send his brother in this vessel who immediately on his arrival will make arrangements to begin the work . . . When she [the brig] has carried his first cargo out, she will return to Alexandria & this city for iron, shingles & wrought materials left here. He wants everything done before the certainty of war."

By March 1808 the threat of war had increased and the embargo law was in effect, causing Latrobe to address a letter to the Collector of Customs at Georgetown in Alexander's behalf; "Mr. Robert Alexander of this city, having contracted with the Sec. of the Treasury U.S. to erect the Custom House at New Orleans of materials to be taken from this city and other ports of the Atlantic States, has purchased and loaded a Brig with stone, columns etc., bricks and the woodwork which he has prepared. The embargo law renders it necessary that he should give bond not to enter a foreign port, and as he has not the pleasure to be known to you, he has requested me to state to you that I am well acquainted with him and his character, and having been employed in the design and direction of the work in which he is engaged, should be willing to go to any extent of security on his behalf, if necessary." [7]

The work at New Orleans proceeded slowly. Skilled labor there was scarce and materials expensive and attempts to obtain workmen from Washington or Philadelphia were futile. "My endeavors to send you bricks, bricklayers & carpenters either from that or this city were vain," wrote Latrobe from Washington on Dec. 10, 1808, to Alexander at New Orleans. "While bricks could be bought here at 8 & sold at 25 dollars in New Orleans, nobody would take them on freight from 5 to 10$ which I offered, and with the prejudice existing in Phila. against your climate, and besides, while there was not a carpenter or bricklayer idle, nobody could be tempted by high wages to go to what is dreaded as certain death . . . all your steps went with Tarbell, Your chimney pieces were ready to go in Aug. in Phila." [8] The chimney pieces referred to were made by Adam Traquair in Philadelphia but were delayed months in being shipped from there because "nothing but gunboats have been sent to N.Orleans from hence." [9]

On June 5, 1808, Alexander reported progress. "I have." wrote he to Latrobe, "raised the whole of the external walls of the Building about three feet above the footing, and have raised the internal work up to the points of the reversed arches and set them—which has taken about 60,000 bricks—and I have now on hand one hundred thousand more which will complete the first story, which I hope to accomplish in three weeks from this date.

"There is one thing in the draw [sic] upon which I have not had your instructions. I wish to know of you whether you wish the recesses above the windows in the upper story are to be left plain or plastered—" [10]

No drawings of the Custom House are known to exist except the marginal sketch in Tanesse's engraved map of New Orleans published in 1816. Beneath this sketch is the date 1809, date of the completion of the building, the first structure of the Greek Revival style in New Orleans.[11] The perspective drawing (by the author) was made in 1954 from Tanesse's sketch and from information contained in the specifications, a contemporary copy of which was obtained by the author in a New Orleans book shop a few years ago.

Because of a failure in its foundations, and also because of the rapid growth of the commerce of New Orleans, the building was demolished in 1819 [12] and replaced by a larger structure of little architectural merit. This stood until the erection of the present New Orleans Custom House on the same site in the middle of the nineteenth century.

1. Latrobe to Daniel Clark, March 15, 1807—letter in the collection of Mrs. F. C. Latrobe II, Baltimore.
2. Latrobe to Gallatin, April 16, 1807. *Ibid.*
3. Latrobe to Gallatin, April 28, 1807. *Ibid.*
4. Copy in the collection of Samuel Wilson, Jr.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Latrobe to Gallatin, Aug. 1, 1807. Mrs. Ferdinand C. Latrobe II collection.
7. Latrobe to Barnes, March 3, 1808. *Ibid.*
8. Latrobe to Alexander, Dec. 10, 1808. *Ibid.*
9. Latrobe to Alexander, July 6, 1808. *Ibid.*
10. Alexander to Latrobe, June 5, 1808. New-York Historial Society.
11. Latrobe's fee "For a Draft and Plan of a Custom House to be built at New Orleans" was $200. Treasury records, National Archives.
12. *Impressions Respecting New Orleans* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), p. xiv.

SAH NEWS

THE AUGUST TOUR

The fifth annual August field trip of the Society was held in the Hudson River Valley on the weekend of August 20–21. The tour was planned and led by Daniel M. C. Hopping. Eighty members and guests participated and saw a cross-section of architecture in the region representing the work of early Huguenot, English, and Dutch settlers of the eighteenth century, and the later American styles of the nineteenth century.

JOB OPENINGS

Several positions are open to write outline factual records of "how" and "why" each detail of the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg was accomplished. Applicants must be recent architectural graduates and have had some architectural office experience preferably in an office sympathetic with historical work. The work involves a review

of drawings and record files, interviews with designers and study of the buildings resulting in the completion of outline reports. Applicants should apply by letter, giving a résumé of experience, to the Personnel Office, Colonial Williamsburg, P. O. Box 516, Williamsburg, Virginia.

NEWARK EXHIBITION

The Newark, N.J., Public Library will open an exhibit on urban re-development on October 1. The exhibit will be in the galleries on the second and third floors of the library and will remain until November 15, 1955.

FISKE KIMBALL
1888–1955

BOOKS

PAUL F. NORTON, *Editor*
The Pennsylvania State University

Turpin C. Bannister, editor, *The Architect at Mid-Century: Evolution and Achievement* (New York: Reinhold, 1954), 513 pp. $8.75.

Francis R. Bellamy, editor, *The Architect at Mid-Century: Conversations Across the Nation* (New York: Reinhold, 1954), 260 pp. $5.00.

The two volumes under review are companion pieces forming the report of a Commission appointed by the American Institute of Architects to examine the function and place of the architect today. The first volume, edited by Turpin Bannister, is a rigorous compilation of statistical data fused with pertinent comments and conclusions. The second volume merely reprints verbatim the "Conversations" of selected critics gathered together at various points in the country to talk informally on questions presented to them. It is doubtful whether historians will find these talks either interesting or useful, unless they have personal friends amongst the speakers, for the questions posed lead usually to digressive, sometimes incoherent, discussions. Even the careful editing has made this volume little more than a loose gathering of social commentary.

The most immediately useful material for the historian is probably contained in the first volume called *Evolution and Achievement*. Chapter IV, entitled "Patterns of Education for the Practice of Architecture," gives a summary of the development of European and American Schools and lists the prominent architects associated with them. Elsewhere the report outlines five functions of architectural history courses directed toward broadening the outlook of the professional student. The Society of Architectural Historians is mentioned favorably as an exemplary influence upon one phase of architectural education. We can also point with legitimate pride to the fact that the editor of this fine volume, Turpin Bannister, is the founder of our Society and the first editor of our magazine.

The evaluation of the architectural profession is so thorough that some cold and hard facts about architectural history come to light in the statistics. In the 1950 survey of the profession, upon which much of the data is based, the history of architecture ranked only fifteenth among practitioners and thirteenth among teachers in subject importance for the architectural school. In a chart comparing the time allotted to history in eight schools between 1898 and 1948, it is shown that the changes in class hours spent on major subjects "have all been made at the expense of the general courses which have declined by 39 per cent since 1924 and of history which has been reduced by almost 46 per cent since 1898. The trends reflect the expanded demands and prestige of modern technology and an increased concentration on training in the solution of design exercises." All pious hope to the contrary, it seems likely that a further inflationary rise in the cost of education and the accumulation of technical knowledge will displace still more of the experience of architectural history from the professional curriculum.

Interesting suggestions are contained in Commission Recommendations 6 and 20 that general courses in architectural appreciation be extended to non-professional students in secondary schools and colleges. This would seem an excellent proposal, if room can be found in what are undoubtedly similarly congested general curricula. However, in the eyes of this reviewer it would be unwise to regard this device as a satisfactory compensation for the declining position of architectural history as a requirement for professional students.

As the book states, historical monuments are no longer useful as a source for design exercises within the school or as a basic vocabulary for the architect after graduation. However, it would seem a great mistake subsequently to look upon the study of history as a non-functional form of effete escapism. We must not forget that the architect ought to be as well prepared to reinforce his tradition as his concrete. The insight which all the humanistic disciplines contribute is concerned with toughening the resolution of those who will soon venture out into the difficult world of competition and compromise. This is too often ignored in a democratic society which proposes to be the home of capable technicians *and* free and thoughtful creators. A young architect who knows little of the architectural past may alter his viewpoint frequently, but will he be ready to grow with the assurance of making his career an effective continuation of the progress of many lives? Can we conceive of the originality of Jefferson without his archaeological investigations, of the initiative of Sullivan without Richardson, or of the vision of Wright without Sullivan? Do we know Mies van der Rohe well without Schinkel? Can we see Lever House unless we've already seen the Crystal Palace? Buildings are large objects, and they stand out in public for many generations. The architect who seeks to stimulate his own monetary success by encouraging his client to think solely of himself and his moment, while undertaking a building project, can hardly be called a professional person in relation to his society. The architect who knows the history of buildings in society is at least partially equipped by background to advise and guide his client along a path which will yield both individual and general satisfaction.

These two volumes give ample evidence of an energy and objectivity of which any calling might be proud. The Commission for the Survey of Education and Registration of the American Institute of Architects (with the financial aid of the Carnegie Corporation) has carried through its assigned task in such a responsible manner that the historian can only regret that some comparable study was not made at the outset of our century. This would not then stand forth prominently as a brilliant, but isolated, document.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Harlan E. McClure, *A Guide to the Architecture of the Twin Cities* (New York: Reinhold, 1955). $0.75

Christopher Tunnard and Henry Hope Reed, *American Skyline* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955). $5.00

Bryan Little, *The Life and Work of James Gibbs* (London; Batsford, 1955). 25s.

Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae* Vol. I, fasc. IV (Vatican, 1954). $14.00

Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955). $8.50

Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Shingle Style* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955). $6.50.